DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 469 206 FL 027 464

AUTHOR	Bernsten, Suzanne Graham
TITLE	Using Conversation Analysis To Evaluate Pre-Sequences in Invitation, Offer, and Request Dialogues in ESL Textbooks.
PUB DATE	2002-05-00
NOTE	106p.; Masters Thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
PUB TYPE	Dissertations/Theses - Masters Theses (042) -- Reports - Evaluative (142)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Cultural Differences; *Dialogs (Language); Elementary Secondary Education; *English (Second Language); Higher Education; *Interpersonal Communication; Second Language Learning; Textbook Evaluation; *Textbooks
IDENTIFIERS	Conversational Analysis; Invitations

ABSTRACT

This paper uses conversation analytic research on a particular practice of organization in talk--pre-sequences--to evaluate English as a Second Language (ESL) textbook dialogues and make recommendations for their improvement. Pre-sequences, such as pre-invitations (e.g., What are you doing on Friday night?) and their responses are used to show speakers how others might respond to projected invitations, offers, or requests. This study examined 68 dialogues from 22 ESL integrated skills and conversation textbooks. Of the 36 invitation dialogues, only one exercise and three dialogues contained pre-invitations. None of the nine offer dialogues contained pre-offers, and of the 23 request dialogues, only one exercise and three dialogues contained pre-requests. Of the dialogues which contained pre-sequences, many were interactionally inadequate. Although a few textbooks contained implicit models of pre-sequences, they lacked explicit teaching about the form and function of pre-sequences. The paper makes recommendations for teaching about pre-sequences by adapting and supplementing textbook dialogues as well as training students to collect and analyze natural language. (Contains 96 references.) (SM)

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Using Conversation Analysis To Evaluate Pre-Sequences In Invitation, Offer, And Request Dialogues In ESL Textbooks

By

SUZANNE GRAHAM BERNSTEN

B.A., Macalester College, 1996

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2002.

Urbana, Illinois

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THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts

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O-517

USING CONVERSATION ANALYSIS TO EVALUATE PRE-SEQUENCES IN INVITATION, OFFER, AND REQUEST DIALOGUES IN ESL TEXTBOOKS

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University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2002
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Textbook dialogues are used to provide models for conversation and to introduce new functions and structures. However, many of these dialogues lack authenticity because they are often based on native speaker intuition and rules of written language, rather than research about spoken language use. This thesis uses conversation analytic (CA) research on a particular practice of organization in talk--pre-sequences--to evaluate textbook dialogues and make recommendations for their improvement.

Pre-sequences, such as pre-invitations (e.g. What are you doing on Friday night?) and their responses, are used to show speakers how others might respond to projected invitations, offers, or requests. Although pre-sequences are commonly initiated as a strategy to avoid rejection, they are rarely included in textbook dialogues. In this study, I examined 68 dialogues from 22 ESL integrated skills and conversation textbooks. Of the 36 invitation dialogues, only one exercise and three dialogues contained pre-invitations. None of the 9 offer dialogues contained pre-offers and of the 23 request dialogues, only one exercise and 3 dialogues contained pre-requests. Of the dialogues which contained pre-sequences, many were interactionally inadequate. Further, although a few textbooks contained implicit models of pre-sequences, they lacked explicit teaching about the form and function of pre-sequences. In addition to presenting the results of this research, I make recommendations for teaching about pre-sequences by adapting and supplementing textbook dialogues, as well as training students to collect and analyze natural language. This thesis also has implications for CA research and for second language acquisition.

Dedicated to my grandfather, Samuel Graham

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank many people for their support during this project. Thanks to Professor Irene Koshik for working through Sequence Organization with me, responding with detailed comments on many drafts, and encouraging me to stick with the deadlines we set. Thanks to Professor Numa Markee for introducing me to CA in a course on the theoretical foundations of SLA. Thanks to Professor Andrea Golato for inspiring me to write a thesis, by bringing up the possibility of applying CA to second language teaching in my first class on CA. Thanks to Sarah Houghton for helping me get started by preparing a preliminary bibliography on CA and second language teaching as part of a project for LIS 431. Finally, thanks to my sister, my parents, and Saulo for giving support and being listening ears throughout the writing process.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to Study

Conversation Analysis as a Resource for Language Teaching

"A *model conversation* offers initial practice with the functions and structures of the lesson," Molinsky and Bliss (1995) explain in the teacher's introduction to the ESL textbook *ExpressWays, Level 4* (p. xv). This illustrates the most common functions of textbook dialogues: first, to provide a model for conversation and second, to introduce new functions and structures. However, these two aims can be contradictory. The effort to introduce certain functions and grammatical structures often results in dialogues that sound unnatural. As Carter (1998) explains "in some successful coursebooks, rather than the dialogue taking precedence over the linguistic features to be learnt, the language teaching points take precedence over the reality of the dialogue" (p. 46).

Another reason that textbook dialogues fail to provide an accurate model for conversation is that they are often developed based on native-speaker intuition. Wolfson (1989) explains that native-speaker intuition is not a reliable source of information about language use:

> It has been demonstrated many times that when native speakers are asked to explain or to identify forms which they or others in their community use in a given speech situation, their responses do not necessarily coincide with speech behavior which is actually observed and recorded. (p. 37)

The results of a study conducted by Wolfson et al. (1983) support this claim. In this study, native speakers of American English were asked to explain how to make invitations. These speakers' explanations were compared with observations of actual interactions. Speakers reported using forms that they never were observed using in interactions. Further, speakers even negatively evaluated forms that they often used in interactions.[1]

This inaccuracy of native-speaker intuition, as well as the fact that materials for teaching spoken language are often based on rules of written language, causes problems in the design of materials to teach English language skills to nonnative speakers. Wolfson (1989) states:

> Given that there exist very few empirically based descriptions of native speaker use, it is not surprising that these materials are themselves based on grammatical rules derived from analyses of the written language or, as is often the case, from the intuitions of the authors. (p. 43)

Other researchers (Barraja-Rohan, 1997; Burns, Gollin, & Joyce, 1996, 1997; Carter, 1997; McCarthy & Carter, 1995) have also pointed out this problem of creating materials for teaching speaking based on the grammar of written rather than spoken language.

Conversation Analysis (CA), which originated as a branch of sociology, offers a research methodology that can overcome the problem of relying on native speaker intuition and grammars of written language for information about spoken language use. CA researchers reject data collection methods such as interviewing participants about language use and asking participants to fill out discourse completion questionnaires, as these methods look at people's attitudes and beliefs about talk rather than how people actually talk (Heritage, 1984). Rather, CA researchers record and analyze naturally occurring everyday conversation and other forms of talk.

Through this analysis, CA researchers have found that although on the surface conversation may appear random, conversation is in fact orderly. One example of the orderliness of conversation is recycled turn beginnings (Schegloff, 1987). When two speakers are competing for a turn in talk, they often speak in overlap. Schegloff found that the speaker who is still speaking after the overlap often repeats or recycles word for word the part of talk that was obscured by overlap. At first glance, it may appear that this talk is disorderly: speakers are talking at the same time and then repeating themselves rather than speaking in well-planned sentences. However, the fact that speakers regularly recycle turn beginnings in order to overcome hearing problems caused by overlap is evidence that talk is orderly. This apparent "mistake" in speaking is in fact a mechanism used to solve turn-taking problems. This detailed analysis of recycled turn beginnings was only possible by examining recorded conversation and would have been missed with interviews or discourse completion questionnaires.

With the emphasis on communicative language teaching and the call for more authentic second language teaching materials (Burns, Gollin, & Joyce, 1996, 1997; Carter, 1998; Cathcart, 1989; Crookall, 1984; McCarthy & Carter, 1995; Porter & Roberts, 1987; Rings, 1986, 1992; Slade & Gardner, 1993) there is great potential for the application of CA research to develop more authentic teaching materials. Carter (1998) characterizes textbook dialogues as

> ... neat, tidy, and predictable, utterances are almost as complete as sentences, no-one interrupts anyone else or speaks at the same time as anyone else, and the questions and answers are sequenced rather in the manner of a quiz show or court-room interrogation. (p. 47)

As textbook dialogues offer implicit models of natural conversation, they could be improved if they were informed by CA research, which provides examples of spoken grammar and includes details such as overlap. With this goal in mind, some researchers have compared aspects of conversation described by CA research with language teaching materials (Hanamura, 1998; Scott, 1987; Scotton & Bernsten, 1988; Wong, 1984, in press). This comparison has demonstrated major differences between textbook dialogues and natural conversation. Some examples of these differences will be outlined below.

Even though this research has shown that textbook dialogues fail to provide accurate models of natural conversation, little change has been made in published materials. When Wong conducted a study of telephone dialogues in 1984 and forthcoming, she found many of the same problems with the textbook dialogues. Wong used CA research to evaluate the opening sequences of ESL textbook telephone dialogues. While naturally occurring telephone conversations regularly contain sequences such as summons-answer, identification, greeting, and how are you sequences, none of the textbook dialogues examined contained all of these core sequences. Many of the dialogues were missing some of these sequences or contained sequences that were incomplete or problematic.

In another study of telephone dialogues, Hanamura (1998) compared telephone closings in Japanese language textbooks used in Australian universities with telephone closings in natural conversation. Of the 8 dialogues she examined, telephone closings were absent in half of the dialogues with more emphasis placed on telephone openings. In addition, terminal expressions often occurred without any pre-closing. Finally, as most of the dialogues occurred in business settings, there was a lack of variety in terminal expressions used in the dialogues, leaving students with little guidance as to how to close more informal everyday conversations.

Scotton and Bernsten (1988) also applied insights from CA in comparing natural language used to give directions with ESL textbook dialogues. They found that textbook dialogues containing directions usually include only three parts: a request for directions, the directions, and thanks from the direction-seeker. However, in natural conversation, much of the direction giver's talk is composed of talk other than the actual directions, such as orientation and confirmation checks. Also, the request for directions is usually responded to with an opening such as a question repeat, an interjection, or a pause before the directions. Finally, natural conversation usually ends with a pre-closing and then finally, a closing.

Scott (1987) compared requests for action in natural conversation and ESL textbook dialogues. She examined request sequences for features such as pre-requests and found that while some dialogues provided somewhat accurate models of natural conversation, there was little direct instruction about the form or function of these sequences. Scott argues that an implicit model of natural conversation is not enough, a more direct approach to instruction is necessary:

> Even if the material presented to students approximates to authentic spontaneous conversational interaction ... there is usually no attempt to highlight explicitly the way native speakers accomplish interactional goals, an analysis that would not only help language students but would also benefit teachers... (p. 4).

Richards (1990) divides approaches to teaching speaking into indirect and direct approaches. Communicative language teaching falls into the indirect approach which attempts to set up opportunities for students to speak in the classroom which are similar to real life speaking situations. In contrast, the direct approach is more like approaches to teaching grammar where instructive feedback is given about the form of conversation.

Beyond using CA to inform language teaching materials, CA can be used in a direct approach to teaching conversation to explicitly teach students about the structure underlying conversation. While grammar is often a focus in the language classroom, the structure underlying spoken language has rarely been taught in the language classroom, as many language teachers are unaware of this structure. Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell (1997) argue for a more direct approach to teaching speaking by "integrating research results from oral discourse analysis, conversation analysis, communicative competence research, interlanguage analysis, language input analysis, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology..." (p. 144). Further, Geluykens (1993) advocates using conversation analysis as a "framework for making explicit some of the 'rules' operating in conversational discourse, which in turn could be useful for teaching purposes" (p. 144). Still other researchers (Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1994; Eggins & Slade, 1997, Geluykens, 1993; Hüllen, 1986; Sze, 1995) recommend a direct approach to teaching such conversational structures and functions described by CA as conversation openings, turn-taking, adjacency pairs, repair, preferred and dispreferred responses, pre-closings and closings in both face to face and telephone talk.

Barraja-Rohan (1997) explains that students should not only be encouraged to talk in conversation class but also be "taught how conversation works and how participants manage talk-in-interaction" (p. 74). She further explains that the traditional linguistic focus of teaching functions as a list of phrases needs to be expanded to include interaction. She argues that an interactive approach would include teaching aspects such as the sequential position of functions in interaction, as well the form and function of pre-sequences such as pre-invitations and pre-requests. Scotton and Bernsten (1988) also argue that ESL instructors must prepare students to meet cognitive-interactional demands, specifically in the case of asking for and giving directions. Students must be able to listen for which part of the talk is directions and which part is peripheral, as well as be prepared to interact with the direction-giver by responding to orientation and confirmation checks.

In order for ESL teachers to be able to teach more about interaction in the language classroom, they need to be made aware of the findings of CA research. With some knowledge of CA research findings, teachers will be better able to teach students to be observers and investigators of language use both inside and outside of the classroom. Burns, Gollin, and Joyce (1997) suggest activities that encourage students to investigate language use. They explain that students can transcribe a part of a spoken text, filling in parts like "backchanneling" or transcribe their own talk and look for features such as length of turn and overlap. McCarthy and Carter (1995) also advocate this type of approach:

> characterized by the use of texts rather than invented sentences, by being based on a scrutiny of real spoken data and by including tasks and questions designed to enhance both awareness of language and a questioning approach on the part of the learners. (p. 214)

In order to learn more about language use, Riggenbach (1991, 1999) suggests that students record and transcribe conversation outside of the classroom and then analyze the conversation in the classroom from a variety of perspectives, including conversation analysis.

One conversation textbook has been written which uses authentic dialogues and is based on CA research, as well as politeness pragmatics. Barraja-Rohan and Pritchard's (1997) *Beyond talk: A course in communication and conversation for intermediate adult learners of English* teaches students concepts from CA through videotaped authentic conversations or unscripted roleplays. Students learn these concepts by watching dialogues and examining transcripts that contain overlap and pauses, features rarely present in traditional textbook dialogues.

Although this book includes some samples of British and American English, it is based primarily on Australian English. In the future, more conversation textbooks based on CA research need to be written for additional varieties of English, as well as for other languages.

Statement of Purpose

This thesis has the dual purpose of introducing CA research on a particular practice of organization in talk, pre-sequences, to language teachers and textbook writers and using this information on pre-sequences to evaluate and suggest improvements on textbook dialogues. First, I will present CA research about the use of pre-sequences in conversation. Then I will use this CA research to evaluate the use of pre-sequences in invitation, offer, and request sequences found in textbook dialogues. Finally, I will make recommendations for the improvement of second language teaching materials based on these findings.

1.2 Literature Review

Sequence Organization

Talk is organized around sequences of action. Schegloff (1995) explains, "a great deal of talk-in-interaction—perhaps most of it—is better examined with respect to *action* than with respect to *topicality*, more for what it is *doing* than for what it is *about*" (p. 1). For example, if you ask a friend for a car ride home, this talk is better described as "doing a request" than talk on the topic of cars.

Sequences are turns of talk from the beginning to the end of a course of action (Schegloff, 1995). As talk is organized by sequences, it is important for co-participants to constantly inspect talk for the implications it has for upcoming action. As Schegloff and Sacks (1973) explain, co-participants must constantly ask, "Why that now?" Co-participants must try to determine why "that" (a particular utterance) is being done "now" (at that particular place in talk). For example, a particular utterance "what are you doing this weekend?" can be used at a particular place in talk, such as after the opening of a conversation, as a pre-invitation, a way to get an idea about how a participant will respond to an invitation. So when a participant hears such an utterance near the beginning of a conversation, this utterance is often interpreted as coming before an invitation. At another place in the talk, this same utterance might be interpreted as a simple information question about a participant's weekend plans.

Once the utterance has been interpreted, as in the example above, as coming before an invitation or as a simple information question, a response becomes relevant. In the case of a pre-invitation, the participant must give information about their availability, in the case of a simple information question, an answer about plans becomes relevant. Speakers unconsciously monitor and interpret these turns of talk in conversation.

Adjacency Pairs

One basic unit of sequence construction is the adjacency pair (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Much of talk is based on adjacency pairs. Adjacency pairs are composed of a pair of turns that are related to each other in the following ways. The first pair part of the adjacency pair, such as a question, initiates an action. The second pair part, such as the answer, responds to the initiation. The pair parts come in a predictable order; for example, the first pair part, the question, precedes the second pair part, the answer. Some examples of common adjacency pairs are question-answer, greeting-greeting, and invitation-acceptance/rejection.

While the order of parts in an adjacency pair is constant, first and second pair parts are not always adjacent. Additional turns related to the action initiated by the first pair part can come before, between, or after first and second pair parts. These are called pre-expansion, insert, and post-expansion sequences respectively. The following description will be limited to pre-expansion sequences in invitation, offer, and request sequences. These three types of sequences were chosen because they are commonly found in a variety of levels of language teaching materials and they demonstrate differing preference structures.

Preference Structure

Before discussing pre-expansions, an explanation of preference structure is necessary. Schegloff (1995) explains that for some adjacency pairs only one type of second pair part is possible, such as, greeting-greeting or farewell-farewell. However, for most adjacency pairs different types of second pair parts are possible. These second pair parts differ in their alignment with the action proposed by the first pair part. For instance, if the first pair part is an invitation, then the second pair part could be either an acceptance or a rejection. In American English, an acceptance is a preferred response because the speaker aligns with the invitation made in the first pair part. In contrast, a rejection is a dispreferred response because of its failure to align with the invitation (Pomerantz, 1984). With preferred or dispreferred responses, speakers are not necessarily aligning or disaligning with the person who produced the first pair part, only with the action proposed by the first-part part.

Preference structure describes the structural relationship between parts of a sequence. It is not a psychological concept but a social one. Sometimes psychological preference and preference structure coincide, but this is not always the case. Schegloff (1995) explains:

> …many have had the experience of inviting to a social or family affair someone who "must be invited," but whom nobody wants to come. And the person receiving the invitation may quite dislike the people who will be at the affair and much "prefer" to miss it. And yet, come the event, they are together (p. 58).

Even though the structurally preferred response to an invitation is an acceptance, in the case described above, the person who made the invitation would personally "prefer" the recipient to reject the invitation.

In general, aligning actions such as acceptances, agreements, and grantings are preferred second pair parts. However, there are some exceptions. Pomerantz (1984) shows that with self-deprecations, disagreement is preferred:

Self-Deprecations

(1) [2] Preferred Response: Disagreement

```
(SBL: 2.1.8-8) (Pomerantz, p. 84)

B:    I was wondering if I'd ruined yer-weekend [by uh
A: →                                            [No. No. Hm-mh.
   →No. I just loved to have-...
```

In extract (1) above, the preferred response is to disagree with the self-deprecation. In addition to self-deprecations, Schegloff (1995) gives another example where preference structure is reversed. Although offers usually "prefer" acceptance in American English, there are some offers that "prefer" rejection. For example, when someone asks, "Would you like the last piece of pie?" the preferred response would be "no" (p. 56).

As explained above, first pair parts have a structural preference for a specific type of second pair part. In turn, second pair parts display an orientation to this preference by being done in preferred or dispreferred manners. Preferred or dispreferred turn shapes are characterized by structural similarities in preferred and dispreferred responses across different action sequences such as invitations and offers (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1987 [1973]). As demonstrated in extracts (2) and (4) below, the preferred turn shape design is direct. It is designed to leave little or no pause between the previous turn and sometimes even overlaps with the previous turn. In contrast, as demonstrated in extracts (3) and (5) below, the design of dispreferred turn shape is less direct and includes pauses and hesitation, as well as accounts or explanations for the participant's inability to give a preferred response. Other features of dispreferred turn shape include prefaces such as "uh" or "well", token agreements, appreciations, and apologies. All of these features serve to delay the rejection component. However, even when the rejection finally comes it is often mitigated, qualified or indirect (Levinson, 1983).

Invitations

(2) Preferred Response: Acceptance

(SBL: 10:14) (Heritage, 1984, p. 265)

B: Why don't you come and see me some[time
A: → [I would like to

(3) Dispreferred Response: Rejection

(SBL: 10:14) (Heritage, 1984, p. 266)

```
1     B:   Uh if you'd care to come over and visit a little while this
2          morning I'll give you a cup of coffee.
3     A:  →hehh Well that's awfully sweet of you, I don't think I can
4         →make it this morning hh uhm I'm running an ad in the paper
5         →and-and uh I have to stay near the phone.
```

Offers

(4) Preferred Response: Acceptance

(Bookstore, 2,1:107) (Schegloff, 1995, p. 28)

```
1     Cathy:      I'm gonna buy a thermometer though [because I=
2       Les:                                         [But-
3     Cathy:      =think she's [(got a temperature).
4       Gar:                   [We have a thermometer.
5     Cathy:      (Yih do?)
6       Gar:      Wanta use it?
7     Cathy:     →Yeah.
8                 (3.0)
```

(5) Dispreferred Response: Rejection

(Her:OII:2:4:ST:detail)(Heritage, p. 273)

```
1     H:   I mean can we do any shopping for her or something like
2          tha:t?
3          (0 .7)
4     S:  →Well that's most ki:nd Heatherton ·hhh At the moment no:.
5         →because we've still got two bo:ys at home.
```

The preferred turn shape is demonstrated in extract (2) above as line 2 overlaps with line 1. Extract (4) provides another example of preferred turn shape. In line 7 of extract (4) the offer is accepted immediately with no gap after the previous turn. In contrast, dispreferred turn shape is demonstrated in extract (3) above. When A rejects the invitation, the turn is slightly delayed by a laugh token, the use of "well," and a show of appreciation. Then A mitigates the rejection claiming that she is not completely sure she has to reject the invitation, "I don't think I can make it".[3] Next in lines 4 and 5 she goes on to give an account for why a preferred response is not forthcoming. Extract (5) above also provides an example of dispreferred turn shape. There is a pause immediately after H's offer. Before rejecting the offer, S's response starts with the preface "well" and continues with an appreciation of the offer. Then there is an inbreath that further delays the rejection, a rejection that is mitigated "at the moment no:." and finally an account for not accepting the offer.

In addition to pauses and accounts, another feature of dispreferred turn shape is that an utterance does not directly address the previous turn (Drew, 1984). For example, in extract (6) below C had previously offered to give I a ride to Syracuse. In extract (6), C calls I to explain that he will not be able to provide a ride anymore. In response, I proposes another time for the trip to Syracuse which acts as a request for a ride a different time.

(6) Dispreferred Turn Shape

(Trip to Syracuse: 2) (Drew, p. 134)

I: How about the following weekend.
(0.8)
C: →.hh Dat's the vacation isn't it?
I: .hhhhh Oh:. .hh ALright so:- no ha:ssle, ...

When I asks "How about the following weekend." C replies with ".hh Dat's the vacation isn't it?". Here C avoids stating what the implications are for I's request, namely, that he cannot go on the trip during vacation. This response shows additional features of dispreferred turn shape with the 0.8 second pause after I's request.

Pre-Sequences

Preference structure can help to explain the function of certain types of pre-sequences. Pre-sequences can come before different kinds of first pair parts such as invitations, offers, requests, or announcements. These types of pre-sequences are used in an attempt to avoid dispreferred responses. Schegloff (1995) explains this interactive function of pre-sequences:

> The initial turn of a pre-sequence (like a pre-invitation) does two things: it projects the contingent possibility that a base first pair part (e.g. an invitation) will be produced; and it makes relevant the production of a second pair part, namely a response to the pre-invitation. And it is on this response that the projected occurrence of the base first pair part (e.g. the invitation) is made contingent. (p. 21)

In other words, a pre-sequence lets the co-participant know that a first pair part proposing a certain type of action, like an invitation, may be coming. Also, the initial turn of a pre-sequence makes a response relevant. Most importantly, based on the positive, neutral, or negative response to the first pair part of the pre-sequence, the speaker can decide whether or not to produce the first pair part of the base sequence, i.e., the invitation, offer, etc. This way the speaker can avoid a dispreferred response by producing a first pair part of the base sequence only if he/she has evidence that the action proposed by the first pair part will receive a preferred response. In extract (7) below, the caller, Nelson, produces the first pair part to an invitation in line 6, only after he has evidence from line 5 that the invitation will be accepted. The pre-sequence is shown with single-headed arrows, the first pair part of the base sequence with a double-headed arrow.

(7) Go-ahead response to a pre-invitation

(CG, 1, Nelson is the caller; Clara is called to the phone)
(Schegloff, 1995, p. 22)

1 Clara: Hello
2 Nelson: Hi.
3 Clara: Hi.
4 Nelson: →Watcha doin'
5 Clara: →Not much.
6 Nelson: ->>Y'wanna drink?
7 Clara: Yeah.
8 Nelson: Okay.

Nelson does a pre-invitation with "Watcha doin'" and Clara responds with "Not much." Nelson takes this as evidence that an invitation will be accepted and produces the first pair part "Y'wanna drink?". As Nelson could predict from Clara's response, he receives a preferred response "Yeah." in line 7 and his invitation is accepted.

Generic and Type-Specific Pre-Sequences

Pre-sequences can be either generic or type-specific. With generic pre-sequences, the recipient cannot predict what type of sequence is yet to come. Generic pre-sequences, summons and answer sequences, are used to get the attention of a co-participant. In order for interaction to begin, the speaker needs to make sure that they have their co-participant's attention. Summons-answer sequences are a type of pre-expansion of a sequence because the action done by the turns that come before the first pair part are relevant to the first pair part. The first pair part of the adjacency pair only has a chance of success if the participant can first gain the attention of the co-participant. In extract (8) below, before Don makes a request to have food passed to him, he summons Jerry in line 5 in order to get his attention. After Jerry responds by looking up, Don makes his request in line 7.

(8) Generic Pre-Sequence: Summons-Response

(Chinese Dinner, 25:20-27, simplified) (Schegloff, 1995, p. 46)

```
1     Beth:      =(um) in [iz life [y'know,
2      Ann:                [Mm-hm?  [
3     John:                         [((cough))
4      Ann:                         [Mm-hm?
5      Don:    →Hey Jerry
6     Beth:      An' it-[he- he- it- ]
7      Don:             [Will you pass] that uh,
8    Jerry:      Uh this:
9      Don:      This one here,
10               (0.5)
```

While generic pre-sequences do not allow the recipient to predict what type of sequence is yet to come, type-specific pre-sequences project specific first pair parts such as invitations, offers, and requests. As with generic pre-sequences, type-specific pre-sequence turns come before projected base first pair parts. For example, in extract (7) above, the pre-sequence turn "Watcha doin'" comes before the first pair part of the invitation in line 6 "Y'wanna drink?" This pre-sequence turn is relevant to the action projected by the first pair part, an invitation, because the response helps Nelson establish whether Clara is free to accept the invitation. In the following sections, I will describe three similar type-specific pre-sequences: pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests. I will then describe a different kind of type-specific pre-sequence, the pre-pre sequence.

Pre-Invitations

As discussed above, one type-specific pre-sequence is the pre-invitation. This is often placed near the opening of a conversation but could be placed sequentially before the closing. "Are you doing anything? What are you doing this weekend?" are typical pre-invitations (Schegloff, 1995). In order to avoid a dispreferred response, people often use pre-invitations to get an idea about how a participant will respond before they make an invitation. The response to the first pair part of a pre-invitation helps the speaker determine whether to produce the first pair part of the projected adjacency pair, the invitation. Schegloff (1995) describes the possible responses to pre-invitations, and in fact, all pre-sequences, as go-ahead, blocking, or hedging responses.

A go-ahead response encourages the speaker to produce the relevant first pair part of the base adjacency pair. Extract (7) above provides an example of a go-ahead response to a pre-invitation. After the exchange of greetings, Nelson offers the first pair part of the pre-sequence in line 4, "Watcha doin'" and receives the reply, a go-ahead response, in line 5, "Not much.". Clara's response that she is not busy encourages Nelson to produce the first pair part of an invitation, "Y'wanna drink?". This invitation is accepted immediately in line 7.

In contrast to a go-ahead response, a blocking response can discourage the production of the relevant first pair part. Extract (9) below shows a blocking response to a pre- invitation.

(9) Blocking response to a pre-invitation

(SB, 1, Allen and Judy are married; John is Judy's fellow student)
(Schegloff, 1995, p. 23)

1 Allen: Hello?
2 John: Yeah, is Judy there?
3 Allen: Yeah, just a second.
4 ((silence))
5 Judy: Hello,
6 John: Judy?
7 Judy: Yeah,
8 John: John Smith
9 Judy: Hi John.
10 John: →Ha you doin-<say what 'r you doing.
11 Judy: →Well, we're going out.

John does a pre-invitation in line 10. Schegloff (1995) explains "the caller asks just at the possible end of the opening (after the greeting exchange) what the recipient is doing, and this is a way of doing a pre-invitation…" (p. 23). After John's pre-invitation, Judy responds in line 11 with "Well, we're going out." This shows that Judy is not available to accept an invitation, which potentially blocks the invitation. However, later we will see that Judy extends her response to produce a different kind of response, a hedging response.

In addition to a go-ahead or blocking response, there can also be an intermediate or hedging response such as "why, uhm—possibly" (Schegloff, 1995). When a recipient responds to the first pair part of a pre-sequence with "why", they are showing that they recognize the talk is related to a projected first pair part, but their response will depend on the invitation, offer, or request. In this case, the speaker can either go ahead with the first pair part and risk a dispreferred response, respond with "no reason" and deny that any type of action was being projected, or say what the invitation would have been.

Extract (10) below is an example of a hedging response. A hedging response can come in the form of "why" that was discussed above or a hedging response can be a combination of response types. For example, in extract (10) below, Judy adds onto the response that was considered a blocking response in extract (9) and her response becomes a hedging response.

(10) Hedging response to a pre-invitation

```
       (SB,1, continued) (Schegloff, 1995, p. 24)

1      Judy:        Hi John.
2      John:        Ha you doin-<say what'r you doing.
3      Judy:      →Well, we're going out. Why.
4      John:      →Oh, I was just gonna say come out and come over here
5                 →and talk this evening, [but if you're going out you
6                 →can't very well do that.
```

The transformation of the blocking response in line 3 into a hedging response comes with the addition of "why." Although "Well, we're going out." raises doubt as to Judy's ability to accept the invitation, the addition of "why" raises the possibility that Judy may be able to accept the invitation depending on what it is. In lines 4 and 5 John reported what the invitation would have been "Oh, I was just gonna say come out and come over here and talk this evening,". This kind of reporting is a common practice after a hedging or blocking response to a pre-sequence (Schegloff, 1988). However, John adds, "but if you're going out you can't very well do that." showing that he is uncertain whether or not his invitation will be accepted.

Before moving on to pre-offers, I want to point out that the distinction between requests, offers, and invitations is not always clear. Schegloff (1995) explains:

> Indeed, requests, offers and invitations form a set of action types (with associated sequence types) which can be difficult to distinguish from one another. Invitations, in this regard, often appear to be a particular sub-class of offers, and their similarity in various respects is then not surprising. (p. 27)

The similarities between these action types can be seen in extract (11) below. In lines 4 and 5, M tells R about a play that she and others have written. M portrays the play as a social event and gives specific information about the play such as the date the play will be performed. R responds to this report by inviting herself to the play.

(11) Self-invitation, Request or Offer?

(MDE:MTRAC:60-1:3) (Drew, p. 142)

```
1    M:    Ye:h I I wa:s, (.) en n:ow I'm take- I have taken a leave
2          en I'm:uh (0.2)'t I'm doing drug counseling down in Venice:.
3          (0.2)
4    M:    which I really (0.6) 'm crazy abou:t end as a matter fact
5          (0.3) we hev written a pla:y, en we er putting that on un
```

```
6          the tenth'v December.
7     R:  →Ken I go see it?
8     M:   Love tuh s:- Oh: thet'd be great.
```

R's self-invitation/request in line 7 can also be viewed as an offer to attend the play in order to support M. Lines 1-2 and 4-6 can also be seen as a pre-request, M could be trying to elicit an offer from R, rather than having to request R attend the play.

Pre-Offers

Pre-offers, similar to pre-invitations, are turns used to assess the potential fate of an offer. As with invitations, offers can be withheld if a pre-offer receives a negative or blocking response. However, there is a major difference between pre-offers and pre-invitations. Schegloff states, "…utterance forms such as 'Are you doing anything?' have a surface character strongly indicative of their use as a pre-invitation" (p. 28). So while pre-invitations often appear in predictable forms, pre-offers are turns that can only be interpreted as pre-offers based on the context and the cultural knowledge of the co-participants (Schegloff, 1995). For example, the pre-offers "We have a thermometer." in extract (4) above and "You-you're alright you can get there." in extract (12) below are understood are pre-offers only by examining them in a specific sequential context.

(12) Pre-offer

(Goldberg,?) (Schegloff, 1995, 29)

```
1      Peter:     I'll see ya Tuesday.
2     Marcus:     Right.
3      Peter:     O[kay Marcus    ]
4     Marcus:   →  [You- you're al]right [you can get there.
5      Peter:   →                        [Ye-
6      Peter:   →Yeah
7     Marcus:     Okay
8      Peter:     Okay
```

As with pre-invitations, pre-offers can receive go-ahead, hedging, or blocking responses. A go-ahead response to a pre-offer can be seen in line 5 of extract (4) above. After Cathy announces that she is going to buy a thermometer in line 1, Gar states "We have a thermometer.". Cathy responds with a go-ahead response when she says "Yih do?". In another sequential environment this may not be seen as a pre-offer. However, in this sequence, Gar mentions that he has a thermometer that is available after Cathy has expressed a need for a thermometer. In line 5 Cathy shows interest in the thermometer with "Yih do?". This is the go-ahead response that encourages Gar to make the offer, "Wanta use it?" which is accepted with "Yeah." in line 7.

A blocking response to a pre-offer can be seen in extract (12) above. Peter and Marcus are at the end of a conversation and they are talking about a meeting they will both attend. Peter checks to see if Marcus needs a ride in line 4 with a pre-offer "you-you're alright you can get there." rather than by directly offering a ride. Marcus's answer "Yeah" is a blocking response to the pre-offer. Based on this blocking response, Peter does not go on to make the offer that was projected by his pre-offer.

Pre-Requests

Schegloff (1995) explains that the link between offer and request sequences is "…the transfer of something of value – whether object, service, or information – from one person to another" (p. 75). Offer and request sequences are alternative routes for this transfer. However, these two routes are not equal. In the same way that some second pair parts are preferred over others, some first pair parts can be preferred over other first pair parts. In the case of offers and requests, offers are preferred over requests (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1979, 1995).

One piece of evidence that offers are preferred over requests is that speakers sometimes try to disguise requests as offers. In extract (13) below, Lotte tries to convince Emma to come with her to the hairdresser by "offering" to go along with Emma to get her hair done.

(13) Request disguised as an offer

(NB IV:10, 41:17-35) (Schegloff, 1995, p. 79)

```
1       Lotte:      →Don't chu want me tih come dow:n getchu dihmorr'en
2                    take yih dow:n dih the beauty parlor?
3                    (0.3)
4       Emma:        What fo:r I jis did my hair it looks like pruh- a
5                    perfessional.
6                    (0.3)
7       Lotte:      →I mean uh: you wanna go'd the store er anything over et
8                    the Market[Ba:sket]er an]ything?]
9       Emma:                  [.hmhhh ].thhh].hhh .h]h W'l HO[NEY]AH]
10      Lotte:                                                [or ]Ri]chard's?
11                   (0.2)
12      Emma:        I've bou:ghtEVrythai:ng?
13                   (0.9)
14      Emma:       →If[you wa]nt ME TIH go 't the beaudy pahler ah wi:ll,
15      Lotte:         [°Oh:.°]
16                   (.)
17      Lotte:       W'l I jus thought mayb we g'd gover duh Richard's fer
18.                  lunch then after uh get muh hair fixed.
19      Emma:        Awri:ght.
20      Lotte:       Oka:y,
```

In lines 1-2 Lotte offers to take Emma to the hairdresser. When Emma rejects the offer, Lotte changes her offer in lines 7-8 by offering to go to the store with Emma. Finally, in line 14, Emma exposes Lotte's attempt to mask a request as an offer by stating "If you want ME TIH go 't the beaudy pahler ah wi:ll,". This attempt to present a request as an offer provides evidence that requests are less preferred than offers.

Schegloff (1995) explains that there are differences in the organization of preferred first pair parts as opposed to preferred second pair parts. In contrast to extract (13) above where the request and offer were done by the same person, alternative first pair parts of offers and requests are usually done by different parties. For example, if I want to request to borrow your car, I am the party who must make the request, while you are the party who would need to make the offer. This can cause problems, as the preferred first pair part needs to be initiated by a participant who may not even be aware that a particular action is relevant.

In extract (14) below, Abby has to make one pre-request in line 9 "You have it you say?" and then another pre-request in line 11 "I say do you have it?" before Beth finally produces an offer in line 14.

(14) Pre-request elicits an offer

(SBL,) (Schegloff, p. 86)

1 Beth: And uhm I have her book
2 (1.0)
3 Beth: Have you read it?
4 Abby: I think I have seen her book, I don't know whether
5 I've read it all or not.
6 Beth: I Believe in Miracles
7 Abby: Yes,
8 Beth: And uh [I (have)-
9 Abby: → [You have it you say?
10 Beth: Uh I Believe in Miracles
11 Abby: →I say do you have it?
12 Beth: Yes.
13 Abby: Uh huh,
14 Beth: →And I'd be glad to (.) let you have it (a week'r two).
15 Abby: Yes I'd like to.

In the extract above, Abby's pre-requests eventually elicit an offer. Abby seems to have delayed making a request in lines 11 and 13 to provide Beth with the opportunity to make the offer which she eventually makes. However, if Beth had not understood line 11 as a pre-request at the time it was said, it is possible that an offer would never have been made.

The preference structure for responses to pre-sequences of less preferred first pair parts, such as requests, is different than for preferred first pair parts, such as offers. While a go-ahead response to an offer or invitation is the preferred response, this is not the case with pre-requests. The most preferred response to a pre-request is a pre-emptive offer. After this, the next preferred response is a go-ahead response (Schegloff, 1995). In extract (14) above, at first Abby gets a go-ahead response in line 12 and by withholding a request, she eventually gets an offer in line 14. As stated earlier, Abby makes two pre-requests, in lines 9 and 11, before she receives an offer. In line 13, Abby could have requested the book as she has just established that Beth has the book. However, she holds off on making a request with "Uh huh," and by waiting, an offer comes in the next turn, line 14.

Extract (14) demonstrates that pre-sequences are performed only because of their relevance to actions of proposed, or potential first pair parts. However, this does not mean that pre-sequences are always followed by projected first pair parts. In fact, the use of a pre-sequence can pre-empt a projected first pair part as in extract (14). Alternatively, when the first pair part of a pre-sequence receives a blocking response, as in line 6 of extract (12) above, the speaker may decide not to produce the base first pair part of the adjacency pair at all.

As seen in extract (14), the most preferred response to a pre-request is an offer. After this, the next-preferred response is a go-ahead response, which prompts the speaker to make the request, as shown in extract (15).

(15) Go-ahead response to pre-request

```
        (SBL,?) (Schegloff, p. 88)

1       Abby:      →And uhm I want(ed) to ask too, do you still have a
2                  →copy of The Cro- ih Cross and the Switchblade?
3       Beth:      →Yeah.
4       Abby:    ->>May I read it again?
5       Beth:        Yes, you sure may,
```

In extract (15) Abby makes a pre-request in lines 1-2 by asking if Beth still has a copy of the book. Abby takes Beth's response "Yeah." in line 3 as a go-ahead and in line 5 Abby makes the request "May I read it again?". Beth grants her request in line 5 with "Yes, you sure may,".

Merritt (1976) found that in service encounters pre-requests are not used if compliance is expected. In other words, the employee in the service encounter is being paid to fulfill your request, so a pre-request is only needed in circumstances where it is uncertain if your request can be fulfilled. For example, in extract (16) below, the customer wants to buy Malboro cigarettes. A pre-request is used possibly because the customer is not sure if the store carries this brand of cigarettes or if Malboro cigarettes are still in stock.

(16) Pre-request in a service encounter

```
        (Merritt, 1976, p. 325)

1       C:  → Do you have Malboros?
2       S:    Uh, no. We ran out
3       C:    Okay. Thanks anyway.
4       S:    Sorry
```

In line 1, the customer does a pre-request, "Do you have Malboros?". In line 2, the salesperson gives a blocking response, "Uh, no. We ran out". So the request for cigarettes is never made.

Pre-Pre Sequences

A different kind of type-specific pre-sequence is the "pre-pre" or the preliminary to the preliminary. According to Schegloff (1980, 1995), this type of pre-sequence can come in the form of questions such as "Can I ask you a question?" and "Can you do me a favor?" These questions project specific base first pair parts such as a question or a request. However, these projected base first pair parts such as questions and requests do not immediately follow the pre-pre. The pre-pre exempts what follows from being the projected utterance.

Instead, an utterance such as "Can I ask you a question?" is followed by talk which is preliminary to the base first pair part.

> Pre-pre's seem to exempt what directly follows them from being understood as the base first pair part, and allows them to be attended to as preliminaries to the base first pair part, while providing recognition criteria for the base first pair part when it "arrives"–i.e., it will be a question/telling/offer/request/etc. (Schegloff, 1995, p. 40)

The use of the pre-pre marks the talk that follows as related to, but also preliminary to, a projected first pair part, hence the name "pre-pre". Pre-pres are type-specific because they help the co-participant recognize the type of base pair that will follow.

While pre-sequences such as pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests are designed to avoid a dispreferred second pair part, pre-pres are designed to establish some preliminaries before the base sequence is uttered. Pre-mentions and pre-conditions are two types of preliminaries that can be pursued in the space between a pre-pre and the base first pair part.

Extract (17) below provides an example of a pre-pre whose function is to "pre-mention." This extract does not occur at the beginning of the conversation but after the closing down of a previous sequence.

(17) Pre-pre which "pre-mentions"

(#17, ST) (Schegloff, 1980: 112)

Fred: →Oh by the way ((sniff)) I have a bi:g favor to ask ya.
Laurie: Sure, go'head.
Fred: →'Member the blouse you made a couple of weeks ago?
Laurie: Ya.
Fred: →Well I want to wear it this weekend to Vegas but my
mom's buttonholer is broken.

```
7     Laurie:    Fred I told ya when I made the blouse I'd do the
8                buttonholes.
9     Fred:      Ya ((sniff)) but I hate ta impose.
10    Laurie:    No problem.  We can do them Monday after work.
11    Fred:      Ya sure ya have time?
12    Laurie:    I'm sure.
13    Fred:      Gee, thanks.
14    Laurie:    Okay well listen...
```

The pre-pre comes in line 1 as Fred says, "I have a bi:g favor to ask ya.". This receives a go-ahead response in line 2 "Sure, go'head." However, the request, which is projected by the pre-pre, does not come after the go-ahead response. Instead, a "pre-mention" comes in line 3, when Fred asks if Laurie remembers the blouse she made a few weeks ago. Then, when Fred is sure that Laurie is familiar with the blouse, he makes a pre-request in line 5.

Similarly, a pre-pre can function to establish a "pre-condition" to the base first pair part. In extract (18) below, June is telling Mary a story in which her status as a "born-again Christian." is important.

(18) Pre-pre which establishes a "pre-condition"

```
      (Sugihara, 1977: 32-36) (Schegloff, 1980: 121)

1     June:        I was readin' the word one time an' this guy sittin'
2                → next tuh me I y'know (    ) an' he said "Hey can I ask
3                → you something?  Are you a Christian?""Oh yeah,""Why
4                  don't [we uh
5     Mary:              [He was readin' the work next to ya?=
6     June:        =No I was readin' the word and 'asked me if I wuz a
7                  Christian y'know
8     Mary:        Uh huh=
9     June:        =I said "oh yeah" an' we started sha:ring and...
```

June is telling a story to Mary about her conversation with somebody else. In the conversation June is reporting about, the man uses a pre-pre, "Can I ask you something?" in line 3. What follows next in line 3 is a question, "Are you a Christian?". However, this is not the question projected by the pre-pre. Instead this question establishes the condition, that June is Christian, before the man proceeds to the base first pair part "Why don't we" in lines 3 and 4. In summary, the pre-pre "Can I ask you something?" projects a question. Before the projected question, another question immediately follows the pre-pre, "Are you a Christian?" This question acts as a pre-invitation because the response to this question will help the speaker determine whether or not to proceed with the invitation. The projected question, the base first pair part of the invitation "why don't we", comes only after the pre-pre and the pre-invitation.

Conclusion

Although pre-sequences for invitation, offer, and request sequences differ in minor ways, they are all used as a resource for speakers to avoid receiving dispreferred second pair parts or making less preferred first pair parts such as requests. This is in contrast to pre-pre's, which mark talk that follows as related to, but also preliminary to, a projected first pair part. There is no research about how often invitations, offers, and requests in natural conversations are preceded by pre-sequences; however, because they are done to perform specific functions, pre-sequences are an important resource for students to learn about talk in interaction.

In the next chapter, I will present dialogues from ESL textbooks and examine in what ways they are similar to and different from the invitation, offer, and request sequences presented in this chapter. In particular, I will examine how often pre-sequences are included in invitation, offer, and request sequences, and if pre-sequences are included, how they compare to pre-sequences found in natural conversation. Finally, I will see if pre-pre sequences are included in the dialogues, and if they are included, how they compare to pre-pre sequences found in natural conversation.

1.3 Methodology

In this study I will examine dialogues from the textbooks listed below. I chose these textbooks because they represent a wide variety of textbooks on the market. They are produced by a variety of publishers, for different levels of students, as well as for both ESL and EFL settings. The name of the books that focus on teaching conversational skills will be followed by an abbreviation for conversation, C, while the integrated skills textbooks will be followed by an abbreviation for integrated skills, I.

Atlas 1: Learning Centered Communication (hereafter Atlas 1-I) (Nunan,1995)

Atlas 2: Learning Centered Communication (Atlas 2-I) (Nunan,1995)

Atlas 3: Learning Centered Communication (Atlas 3-I) (Nunan,1995)

Atlas 3 Workbook: Learning Centered Communication (Atlas 3W-I) (Nunan,1995)

Atlas 4: Learning Centered Communication (Atlas 4-I) (Nunan,1995)

Beyond talk: A course in communication and conversation for intermediate adult learners of English (Beyond talk-C) (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997)

ExpressWays, Level 1 (ExpressWays 1-I) (Molinsky & Bliss, 1995)

ExpressWays, Level 2 (ExpressWays 2-I) (Molinsky & Bliss, 1995)

ExpressWays, Activity workbook 2 (ExpressWays 2W-I) (Molinsky & Bliss, 1995)

ExpressWays, Level 3 (ExpressWays 3-I) (Molinsky & Bliss, 1995)

ExpressWays, Level 4 (ExpressWays 4-I) (Molinsky & Bliss, 1995)

New American streamline destinations: High-intermediate-advanced (New American streamline destinations-I) (Hartley, Falla, Frankel & Viney, 1994)

New interchange: English for international communication: student's book intro (New interchange I-I) (Richards, 2001)

New interchange: English for international communication: student's book 1 (New interchange 1-I) (Richards, 2001)

New interchange: English for international communication: student's book 2
(New interchange 2-I) (Richards, 2001)

New interchange: English for international communication: student's book 3
(New interchange 3-I) (Richards, 2001)

New person to person 2: Communicative listening and speaking skills
(New person to person 2-C) (Richards, Bycina & Aldcorn, 1995)

Say it naturally, Level 1: Verbal strategies for authentic communication
(Say it naturally 1-C) (Wall, 1998)

Say it naturally, Level 2: Verbal strategies for authentic communication
(Say it naturally 2-C) (Wall, 1998)

Spectrum 3A: A communicative course in English (Spectrum 3A-I) (Warshawsky
& Byrd, 1993)

Tapestry: Listening & speaking 2 (Tapestry 2-C) (Hartmann & McVey Gill, 2000)

Tapestry: Listening & speaking 3 (Tapestry 3-C) (Carlisi & Christie, 2000)

(The abbreviations given above for both name and type of textbook will be used hereafter in referring to the textbooks in this study). This study will focus on dialogues from the textbooks above that contain invitation, offer, and request sequences. I will analyze the dialogues that contain turns of talk that appear to have a similar form to pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests and compare them with the conversation analytic description of these types of pre-sequences in the previous chapter. Each turn of talk will be examined based on its sequential position in the dialogue. Also, I will investigate whether responses to pre-sequences contain preferred and dispreferred features as described by conversation analysts.

Conversation analysts are not often concerned with how often features of talk, such as pre-sequences, happen or with social contexts not made relevant in the talk itself. Conversation analytic research offers no indication that pre-sequences occur with every invitation, offer, and request. With the lack of data about the frequency of pre-sequences in natural talk, my research is not about merely counting how many times pre-sequences occur in textbook dialogues. Instead, the focus is on the interactional problems these practices solve for participants. I will examine the need for a pre-sequence in the context of specific dialogues and the surrounding talk. I will argue that a pre-sequence is needed in a dialogue only when there is a potential problem that a pre-sequence could solve.

As I was collecting dialogues for this study, questions came up as to which dialogues should be included. In choosing dialogues, I looked for dialogues that resembled those discussed in the CA literature. In each of the cases where I excluded dialogues from the study, the problem that would be solved by doing a pre-sequence did not exist, so a pre-sequence was not necessary. In the following paragraphs, I give examples of the kinds of dialogues I excluded along with the reasons why they were excluded from the study. But, most importantly, in choosing dialogues to analyze I looked for the types of sequences that corresponded to sequences which have been found to include pre-sequences in actual talk.

Invitation dialogues that began with phrases such as "let's go/let's do" were excluded. These dialogues were often accompanied by pictures of a wife and husband sitting around a table drinking coffee and making plans for the day. In these dialogues, the participants were co-present and seemed to have knowledge of the other person's accessibility or willingness to do something. So these "invitations" acted more like suggestions for how to spend time participants had already planned to spend together, rather than invitations.

Dialogues containing invitations left as phone messages with third parties were also excluded from the study. As the inviter was not speaking directly with the invitee it would not be possible to find out about the invitee's availability. Also, I excluded one dialogue in which an invitation was delivered face to face but on behalf of a third party. In this case of an invitation being delivered by a third party, the deliverer may not have the authority to change the invitation.

As with invitation dialogues, I excluded some of the offer dialogues because it seemed likely that a pre-offer would not be necessary in the particular situation. I excluded offer dialogues which involved someone offering food or drink. These dialogues all occurred in the context of a restaurant or a home setting where food was already present. Pre-offers would be unnecessary in these situations, as the participants are already co-present and have started eating and drinking.

I also excluded some types of request dialogues from this study. I excluded dialogues in which someone was leaving the house to go shopping and was asked by his or her spouse to buy something at the store. In these dialogues, the condition that the person is available to go and fulfill the request is already satisfied, so there is no need for a pre-request. I excluded dialogues which involved someone asking for money for a cause or an organization. Finally, I excluded dialogues that occurred in service encounters with one exception, which will be discussed later in section 2.3.

The research questions I will consider are:

1. How often are pre-sequences present in invitation, offer, and request sequences in textbook dialogues?
2. Are preferred and dispreferred features displayed accurately in responses to pre-sequences?

3. How closely do these pre-sequences match the description of pre-sequences from conversation analysts?
4. Are there any instances of pre-requests eliciting offers?
5. Are there any pre-pre sequences present in the dialogues? If so, how closely do these pre-pre sequences match the description of pre-pre sequences from conversation analysts?
6. How can conversation analytic research be used to inform language teaching and materials development?

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2. DATA ANALYSIS

As stated above, I will analyze dialogues with invitation, offer, and request sequences which occur in both face to face contexts and telephone talk. I will also look at some dialogue completion activities for what they do or do not teach about pre-sequences. In this study, I examined 68 dialogues: 36 invitation dialogues, 9 offer dialogues, and 23 request dialogues.

2.1 Invitation Dialogues in Textbooks

Of the 36 dialogues which contained invitation sequences, 3 dialogues and one exercise contained pre-invitations with all of the features described in the conversation analysis literature. Two additional dialogues contained pre-invitations that were problematic. In addition, there were dialogues which contained phrases commonly used as pre-invitations. However, the sequential position of the dialogue within the conversation is unclear, which makes it difficult to tell whether the phrases were intended as pre-invitations or simple information questions.

The majority of the dialogues contained an invitation with no pre-sequence. Some examples are dialogue (A) and (B) below.

(A) Invitation without a pre-invitation

(*ExpressWays 3-I*, p. 140)

```
A:  →Would you by any chance be interested in going dancing
      tomorrow night?
B:    Tomorrow night?  I'm afraid I can't.  I have to work
      overtime.
A:    That's too bad.
B:    It is.  Going dancing sounds like a lot more fun than
      working overtime.  Maybe some other time.
```

(B) Invitation without a pre-invitation

(*Atlas 1-I*, p. 11)

1 A: Hello. Is Tomoko there?
2 B: This is Tomoko.
3 A: Hi! This is Sally. Can you come to my birthday party
4 tomorrow?
5 B: Sure

The remaining dialogues I will discuss contained either a pre-invitation or a phrase that is commonly used in pre-invitations. Dialogue (C) below contains a pre-invitation that receives a hedging response. In this dialogue, Ed calls Nancy on the phone to make an invitation.

(C) Pre-invitation with a hedging response

(*Spectrum 3A-I*, p. 69)

1 Nancy: Hello?
2 Ed: Hello, Nancy? This is Ed Riley.
3 Nancy: Ed! How are you? Congratulations!
4 Ed: Thanks. I'm sorry to call so late. I hope I didn't
5 wake you up.
6 Nancy: Oh, no. I was just watching TV.
7 Ed: →Listen, are you doing anything on Saturday evening?
8 Nancy: →I don't think I am.
9 Ed: →Then how about coming over for dinner? Bring your
10 →roommate too.
11 Nancy: I'd love to, but let me check with In Sook before I
12 tell you for sure. She wasn't feeling well, so she
13 went to bed early.
(dialogue continues)

In line 7, Ed makes a pre-invitation "Listen, are you doing anything on Saturday evening?" Nancy replies with a hedging response in line 8 "I don't think I am." Ed responds to this hedging response with an invitation in lines 9-10. The invitation is not immediately accepted as Nancy explains that she needs to check with her roommate before she can accept the invitation. Although this dialogue accurately represents a pre-invitation, there was no direct instruction about pre-invitations in this book.

A pre-invitation is also present in dialogue (D) below. As in dialogue (C), the pre-invitation below receives a hedging response. Dialogue (D) also exhibits a feature which often accompanies hedging responses to pre-invitations, the use of "why?" (Schegloff, 1995). It is not clear whether this is a face to face or a phone dialogue.

(D) Pre-invitation with a hedging response

(*Say it naturally 1-C*, p. 127)

1 Pedro: →Are you busy Saturday night, Jill?
2 Jill: →Well...uh...I don't have any definite plans yet. Why?
3 Pedro: I thought we might go to the new movie at the
4 Playhouse Theater.
5 Jill: Fantastic! I read a good review of it, and I'd love to
6 go!

In line 1, Pedro makes a pre-invitation "Are you busy Saturday night, Jill?" In line 2 Jill responds to the pre-invitation with a hedging response. The use of "why" shows that Jill orients to Pedro's question as a possible pre-invitation. Jill's acceptance or rejection of the invitation will depend on the character of the invitation. In lines 3-4, Pedro makes the invitation, but in a weak form by starting the invitation with "I thought we might go...". Schegloff (1995) explains:

> ...projected invitations which have been rendered problematic by blocking or hedging responses to the pre-invitation may be articulated nonetheless, sometimes in a diluted form linked more or less overtly to the discouragement of the presequence... (p. 26)

In lines 5-6, Jill produces a preferred response to the weak invitation by accepting it with "Fantastic! I read a good review of it, and I'd love to go!".

Dialogue (D) is followed by direct instruction about the use of pre-invitations in the form of a list of questions after the dialogue. The questions are "Why doesn't Pedro begin his invitation immediately with 'Would you like to go...?'" and "Why do you think Jill hesitates at first? What hesitation strategy does she use?" (Wall, 1998a, p. 128). With the first question, the author is trying to get the student to understand the interactive function of a pre-invitation. The second question hints at the reason for the use of "why," Jill does not want to give a definite response until she knows the specific invitation.

The final dialogue that accurately represents a pre-invitation, dialogue (E), displays an additional feature that often accompanies pre-invitations. After receiving a blocking response to the pre-invitation, Albert reports what the invitation would have been. This kind of reporting is a common practice after a hedging or blocking response to a pre-invitation (Schegloff, 1988, 1995). In the dialogue below, Albert calls Daniel to make an invitation.

(E) Pre-invitation with a blocking response

(*New interchange 2-I*, p. 100)

```
1    Albert:     Hi, Daniel.  This is Albert.
2    Daniel:     Oh, hi. How are things?
3    Albert:    →Just fine, thanks. Uh, are you doing anything on
4               →Saturday night?
5    Daniel:    →Hmm. Saturday night? Let me think. Oh, yes. My cousin
6               →just called to say he was flying in that night. I told
7               →him I would pick him up.
8    Albert:     Oh, that's too bad! It's my birthday. I'm having
9                dinner with Amanda, and I thought I'd invite more
10               people and make it a party.
11   Daniel:     Gee, I'm really sorry, but I won't be able to make it.
12   Albert:     I'm sorry too. But that's OK.
```

Albert makes a pre-invitation in lines 3-4 "Uh, are you doing anything on Saturday night?". Daniel gives a blocking response in lines 5-7 by explaining that he already has plans. After Albert receives this blocking response, he reports what the invitation would have been in lines 8-10. Despite this accurate portrayal of a pre-invitation, this book contained no direct instruction about pre-invitations.

One exercise provides an example of a pre-invitation which first receives a hedging response. Then students must decide whether or not to give a go-ahead or a blocking response by checking information on a calendar next to the exercise.

(F) Exercise with pre-invitation

(*Spectrum 3-I*, p. 5)

A Are you doing anything on Saturday?
B I don't think I am. But let me check my calendar...

B	No, I'm not doing anything on Saturday.	I'm sorry. I already have plans for Saturday.

Under the dialogue, students are given a list of alternative responses to the pre-invitation. These include: "I don't think I'm busy. I don't think so. I think I'm busy. I think I am" (Warshawsky & Byrd, 1993, p. 5). This exercise accurately portrays pre-invitations and gives students an idea of alternate responses to a pre-invitation. However, the exercise does not show what comes after a go-ahead or blocking response to a pre-invitation.

The three dialogues and exercise above accurately demonstrate certain features of pre-invitations described by conversation analysts. These features include go-ahead and hedging responses to pre-invitations, the use of "why" in a hedging response, and a blocking response to a pre-invitation followed by a report of what the invitation would have been. However, although telephone talk is not the focus of this analysis, it is worth mentioning that neither of the telephone dialogues accurately demonstrates the core sequences in telephone conversation described by Schegloff (1986) and Wong (1984, in press).

The following dialogues contain phrases commonly used as pre-invitations. However, these phrases fail to serve the interactional function of pre-invitations, to avoid a dispreferred response, because of their sequential position. The pre-invitation in dialogue (G) below is problematic because it occurs in the same turn as the invitation.

(G) Pre-invitation and invitation in the same turn

(*New interchange 1-I*, p. 92)

1 Tony: →Say, Anna, what are you doing tonight? Would you
2 like to go out?
3 Anna: →Oh, sorry, I can't. I'm going to work late tonight. I
4 →have to finish this report.
5 Tony: Well, how about tomorrow night? Are you doing
6 anything then?.
7 Anna: No, I'm not. What are you planning to do?
8 Tony: I'm going to see a musical. Would you like to come?
9 Anna: Sure. I'd love to! But let me pay for the tickets this
10 time. It's my turn.
11 Tony: All right! Thanks!

Tony makes a pre-invitation in line 1 "Say, Anna, what are you doing tonight?" However, he does not wait for a response to the pre-invitation but instead continues with the invitation "Would you like to go out?" in the same turn. Schegloff (1995) explains that "one key thing that pre-sequences are designed to do is to help prospective speakers of base first pair parts avoid rejection..." (p. 23). So the prospective speaker of the invitation makes a pre-invitation and then waits for a response. Based on this response, the speaker can decide whether or not to make the invitation. If the interactional purpose of the pre-invitation is to avoid a dispreferred response, this purpose is lost in dialogue (G) as there is no room for Anna to respond before the invitation is made.

In addition to examining dialogues, I also looked at grammar practice activities which contained invitation dialogues. One of these practice activities contained dialogues in which pre-invitations and invitations come in the same turn. The following pre-invitations were found in a grammar focus activity to practice future with present progressive and "be going to." In this activity, students are required to fill in the blanks in the dialogue and then match the invitation with the appropriate response. I have presented the invitations next to the matching responses below.

(H) Pre-invitation and invitation in the same turn

(*New interchange 1-I*, p. 93)

1. What ...... you ......(do) tomorrow? Would you like to go out?	b. Sorry, I can't. I ......(work) overtime. How about Saturday?
2. ...... you ......(do) anything on Saturday night? Do you want to see a movie?	c. Can we go to a late show? I ......(stay) at the office till 7:00. After that I ......(go) to the gym.

As in dialogue (G), the pre-invitations in the dialogues in practice activity (H) come in the same turn as the invitation with no space for a response from the co-participant before the invitation is made.

Dialogue (I) below is an additional example of a pre-invitation and invitation occurring in the same turn. The pre-invitation is found in an exercise in which the instructions are to practice using hesitation strategies rather than immediately accepting an invitation.

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(I) Pre-invitation and invitation in the same turn

(Say it naturally 1-C, p. 126)

1 Fred: →Are you busy next Saturday night? There's a concert
2 →in the park that would be fun to go to.
3 You: ____

The pre-invitation in line 1 "Are you busy next Saturday night?" is followed immediately by the invitation, leaving no space for a response by the co-participant.

Surprisingly, dialogue (I) occurs in the same textbook as dialogue (D), a dialogue with an accurate example of a pre-sequence. Also, this textbook, *Say it naturally 1-C*, contains a description of the use of pre-invitations for the language learner. In the beginning of the chapter on invitations, Wall (1998a) explains:

> We usually don't start right in with the invitation without doing a little searching to see if that person already has plans. We might say something like, "Hi, Caroline. What are you up to this weekend?" If Caroline says she's going to the beach, we can decide not to continue with the invitation because we know she won't be able to accept. Of course, if we want Caroline to change her mind, we might say, "Oh, really? I was hoping you'd be free, so you could go with us to the lake on Saturday." Maybe Caroline will change her mind after all. (p. 121)

This explanation provides a description of the interactional function of pre-sequences. Further, it accurately depicts the practice of reporting what an invitation would have been after a hedging or blocking response to a pre-invitation. Unfortunately, this understanding of the way invitations work in natural conversation, is not always reflected in the exercises in this book.

In dialogues (G)-(I) the interactional purpose of the pre-invitation is lost because there is no space left after the pre-invitation for a reply. Intuition about making invitations may have led the materials writers to include the pre-invitation phrases in the dialogues;

however, except for Wall (1998a), and that inconsistently, the writers do not show an awareness of their function. Students need to learn not only the form of the pre-invitations but also their function which requires knowledge of their appropriate sequential position. Specifically, pre-invitations need to be responded to in order for the participant to be able to decide whether or not to go ahead and make the invitation. Without knowledge of the interactional purpose of these pre-invitations provided by conversation analytic research, the pre-invitations are placed in a sequential position immediately preceding the invitation, and as a result, the pre-invitations lose their purpose.

Besides the sequential position of the pre-invitation in relation to the invitation, the sequential position of the pre-invitation in the conversation as a whole is also important. As explained above, pre-invitations can be interpreted as pre-invitations because of their sequential position either at the beginning of a conversation or possibly before the closing of a conversation (Schegloff, 1995). At another sequential position in the conversation, phrases which are often used as pre-invitations such as "What are you doing this weekend?" may be interpreted as simple information questions. It is hard to tell if the textbook dialogues represent only part of a conversation, such as the beginning or the end of the conversation, or the entire conversation. Without knowing the sequential position of the dialogue in the conversation as a whole, it is difficult to interpret whether certain phrases are simple information questions or possible pre-invitations.

Dialogue (J) below is an example in which a phrase could be interpreted as a pre-invitation or a simple information question.

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(J) Pre-invitation or simple information question?

(*American Streamline Departures*, Part A, p. 39)

1 A: →What are you doing this weekend?
2 B: I'm going out of town.
3 A: Oh? Where are you going?
4 B: I'm going to Cape Cod.
5 A: For how long?
6 B: Just for two days.

As there are no greetings or openings in the conversation, it seems that the dialogue begins at some point after the conversation has already begun. It is unlikely that the first thing you would say to someone would be "What are you doing this weekend?" However, it is ambiguous at what point in the conversation this dialogue occurs. If it occurs near the beginning or end of the conversation, the question in line 1 might be interpreted as a pre-invitation which receives a blocking response in line 2 "I'm going out of town." At another point in the conversation, the question in line 1 could be just a simple information question about weekend plans.

Similar to dialogue (J), dialogue (K) below provides an additional example of a dialogue where the sequential position of the dialogue in the conversation as a whole is ambiguous.

(K) Pre-invitation or simple information question?

(*Atlas 1-I*, p. 96)

1 A: →What are you going to do tonight?
2 B: I'm going to watch TV with Paul.
3 A: You know we have an exam tomorrow.
4 B: So?
5 A: Well, aren't you going to study?
6 B: No, I think I'll pass, so I don't have to study.

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If this dialogue occurs near the beginning or end of a conversation, the phrase in line 1 "What are you going to do tonight?" could be seen as a pre-invitation to possibly an invitation to study together. This pre-invitation receives a blocking response in line 2. However, if the phrase in line 1 occurs at some other point in the conversation, it could be an information question about future plans. Either way "What are you doing tonight?" is a strange question for A to ask, as A already seems to have an opinion about what B's plans should be.

It may not be possible for every textbook dialogue to have an opening and closing if the goal is to teach a grammar point. However, as every dialogue teaches about interaction whether it intends to or not, the analysis above demonstrates how the sequential position of a turn in conversation can be essential to the interactional purpose of a turn. When dialogues start seemingly in the middle of a conversation, information which is needed by participants to interpret a turn is absent. Language learners should be presented with the possible meanings of a phrase like "What are you doing this weekend?" based on its sequential position in a conversation. Finally, it is important to teach the sequential position of the first pair part of a pre-invitation in relationship to the actual invitation, whether it should occur in the same turn or whether a response to the pre-invitation is needed.

Although there are no pre-invitations present in the textbook's dialogues, *Beyond talk-C* (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997) contains an explicit presentation of the function and form of pre-invitations. The textbook introduces the idea of pre-sequences by giving an explanation of pre-sequences along with sample dialogues with pre-requests in a previous chapter. Later, in the chapter on invitations, students are asked to brainstorm

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possible forms and functions of pre-invitations. The following examples of pre-invitations are provided in the teacher's book "Are you busy on Friday? What are you doing on Friday? Are you doing anything special on Friday? Are you going out on Friday?" (p. 81).

2.2 Offer and Request Dialogues in Textbooks

There were no examples of pre-offers in any of the 9 dialogues which contained offers. Suprisingly, there were more than twice as many request dialogues as offer dialogues. This demonstrates an area which is lacking in the ESL textbooks. While it is important to learn how to make requests, students also need to learn how to make offers.

Data are not available for all types of offer situations that could contain pre-offers. However, as pre-offers are done to avoid rejection, there are certain situations in which a pre-offer may not be necessary. For example, if someone is about to drop their groceries and you offer to help them, it is unlikely the offer to help would be rejected. In this case, a pre-offer would not be necessary.

In this section I will first give examples of offers without pre-offers. As described above, offers are preferred over requests, so a pre-request can elicit an offer. Although I did not find any examples of pre-requests which elicited offers, I will discuss some exercises in textbooks which display an understanding of the preference for offers over requests. Next I will present dialogues which contain pre-requests, as well as examples of dialogues which do not have pre-requests and discuss the potential problems the absence of a pre-request might cause. I will also look at a dialogue which shows that the distinction between offers and requests in textbooks can be ambiguous at times and another dialogue which shows how a "hint" can be used in a similar way to a pre-request.

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None of the offer dialogues in the textbooks contained pre-offers. Dialogue (L) and (M) are examples of offer dialogues without pre-offers.

(L) Offer without a pre-offer

(*Atlas 2-I*, p. 65)

```
1      A:     Is there a bookstore around here?
2      B:     No, there isn't.  But there's one near the subway.  Why?
3      A:     I want to get a guidebook.
4      B:   →Oh, there are some guidebooks on the shelf—help yourself.
5      A:     Thanks a lot.
```

In dialogue (L), A asks B where a bookstore is located. Then A explains that he/she wants to buy a guidebook. In line 4, B offers a book to A and in line 5, A accepts the offer.

Dialogue (M) below is another example of an offer dialogue without a pre-offer. The dialogue is between two people who work in the same office. They are discussing their plans for the holiday weekend.

(M) Offer dialogue without a pre-offer

(Spectrum 3A-I, p. 3)

```
1      Bob:  Any plans for the weekend?
2      Ann:  It depends on the weather.  If it's nice, I'll probably go
3            camping.  But if it isn't, maybe I'll just stay home and
4            clean my apartment.  It could certainly use it.  How about
5            you?
6      Bob:  I'm going to Toronto.
7      Ann:  Oh, is that where you're from?
8      Bob:  No, that's where my parents live now.  I grew up in Ottawa....
9      Ann:  How are you getting there?
10     Bob:  I'm thinking of flying, but it depends on how much it costs.
11           If it's too expensive, I'll take the bus.
12     Ann:→Well, listen, if you need a ride to the airport, let me know.
13         →I'll be happy to drive you, if I'm around.
14     Bob:  Oh, thanks.  That's really nice of you.
```

In line 6, Bob explains that he is going out of town to Toronto for the weekend. In line 9, Ann asks how Bob will get to Toronto and in lines 12 and 13, Ann offers Bob a ride to the airport.

Although none of the dialogues contained pre-offers, four dialogues contained pre-requests. As stated earlier, offers are preferred over requests (Schegloff, 1995). While the most preferred response to a pre-request is an offer, I found no dialogues in which a pre-request was responded to with an offer. However, two of the textbooks oriented to this preference structure of offers over requests, by explaining that a co-participant may choose to make an offer before another person makes a request. In *Say it naturally 2-C,* Wall (1998b) explains:

> We don't always wait for someone to ask for help to offer our assistance. Suppose you notice Wong, a classmate, standing in front of a posted bus schedule, looking very confused. You might go up to him and say, "What seems to be the trouble, Wong? Do you need some help?" Or what if you see a young woman on her hands and knees, searching frantically on the floor for something? You might approach her and offer your assistance by saying, "Hi. Do you need some help?" or "Can I help you look for something?" (p. 93)

This explanation demonstrates that co-participants do not need to wait until they get a request to offer assistance. Although this demonstrates an orientation to preference, it fails to demonstrate how co-participants can jointly show preference through talk.

Dialogue (N) below, which occurs in a practice exercise in the same textbook, is an example of someone offering assistance before a request for help is made. The instructions are to read about a situation, offer assistance, and then allow your co-participant to either accept or reject the offer for help. Dialogue (N) is a model dialogue to help language learners with the exercises that follow in the textbook.

(N) Offering help before a request is made

(Say it naturally 2-C, p. 94)

You see a friend with an armload of books and groceries, trying to unlock his door. Some of the items are spilling from the bags as he fumbles for his key.

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1 You: →Hi, Carl. It looks as if you could use a hand. Let me
2 hold those for you.
3 Carl: (+) Thanks a lot! You're a lifesaver.
4 You: (-) Oh, that's OK. I think I've got it.

Dialogue (O) below is a similar dialogue which occurs in *Expressways 4-I*, a textbook which has no explicit teaching of the orientation towards offering help before you receive a request.

(O) Offering help before a request is made

(*Expressways 4-I*, p. 10)

1 A: →Do you want any help carrying those grocery bags upstairs?
2 B: Sure. If you don't mind?
3 A: No, not at all. I'd be glad to give you a hand.
4 B: Thanks. I appreciate it.

In this dialogue A offers to help B carry groceries in line 1. In line 2, B accepts the offer.

Spectrum 3A-I (1993) is the other book which explicitly points out the idea that offers can be made before a request. Exercise (P) below shows an orientation to this. Students are supposed to read about the situation in the first line of each dialogue and then fill in the blank with an offer in the second line of the dialogue.

(P) Making an offer when you see that help is needed

(*Spectrum 3A-I*, p. 34)

1 A: I'm moving into my new house tomorrow.
2 B: Well, if you need some help, ____________.

1 A: I'm catching a flight to Montreal right after work.
2 B: Well, listen, if you need a ride to the airport, ___________.

1 A: I'm going camping this weekend, but I don't have a sleeping
2 bag.
3 B: Well, if you need one, ___________.

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Exercise (N) and dialogue (O) display an orientation to the preference for offers over requests. As explained above, pre-sequences such as pre-offers and pre-requests would not be necessary in these kinds of situations where the need for help is so immediate and straightforward. However, exercise (P) contains situations similar to those found in the natural conversation data described in the literature review. In these situations, pre-requests might be used and the potential use of pre-requests should be taught.

Of the 23 request dialogues, three dialogues contained a pre-request. In addition, one exercise contained a pre-request. One of the pre-requests occurred within a service encounter dialogue. As discussed earlier, Merritt (1976) found that in service encounters a pre-request is used only if compliance is not expected. In the case of service encounters, compliance is usually expected because it is the employee's job to fulfill your requests. For this reason, I excluded all other service encounter dialogues from the study. In dialogue (Q) below, a pre-request occurred because compliance to the request was not necessarily expected. This pre-request occurs in a service encounter between a customer and a pharmacist.

(Q) Pre-request in a service encounter

(*Spectrum 3A-I*, p. 57)

```
1    Victor:        →Do you have tonight's paper?
2    Pharmacist:     We may not have any more.  If there are any
3                    left, they're up in front with the magazines.
4    Victor:         I've already looked there.
5    Pharmacist:     Well, then we must be out of them.
```

In line 1, the customer does a pre-request, "Do you have tonight's paper?" In line 2, the pharmacist gives a hedging response by telling the customer that there may not be any more newspapers. The pharmacist also tells the customer where the papers are usually located. The customer's reply in line 4, "I've already looked there." makes it apparent that he used a pre-request because he did not necessarily expect compliance to his request. He had already checked in the usual place and there were no papers there.

Two of the pre-requests that I found in dialogues came from the textbook, *Beyond talk-C* (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997). This was not surprising as this textbook's goal is to teach about conversation utilizing conversation analytic research. Dialogue (R) below occurs between two teachers in a staff room.

(R)[4] Request dialogue with a pre-request

(*Beyond talk-C*, p. 121)

```
1     Leisl:      hi John↑
2     John:       g'day mate↓ how's it goin'↓
3     Leisl:      oh not bad↓ (.) um
4     John:       what's [new↓    ]
5     Leisl:             [look I']m in cla::ss(.)and I re[ally need_]
6     John:                                              [l u c k y ]
7                 you↓ (laughter)
8     Leisl:     →yea:h_lucky me_um (.) can you just- are you busy↓
9                 (0.5)
10    John:       well not ↑now↓ (.) what can I do for you↓
11    Leisl:     →can you do me a favour↓ I [needed to photocopy_
12    John:                                 [depends↓ will it cost me
13                anything↑
14    Leisl:      no↓ photocopy this page↓ and this page↓
15    John:       how many↓
16    Leisl:      (.)
17    John:       twenty_(.)ten↓
18    Leisl:      okay↓ done↓
19    John:       four o o[ne_ ]
20    Leisl:              [done]o[kay↓ catch you la]ter↑
21    John:                      [t h a n k s :↓ ]
```

In dialogue (R), Leisl makes a pre-request in line 8 with "are you busy↓". In line 9, John gives a go-ahead response with "well not ↑now↓ (.) what can I do for you↓". Leisl responds in line 10 with the request preceded by "can you do me a favour↓"

The second dialogue in this textbook with a pre-request, dialogue (S), also occurs in a staff room between two teachers.

(S) Request dialogue with a pre-request

```
        (Beyond talk-C, pp. 123-124)

1       Chris:     →oh Duncan just the guy↓
2       Duncan:      [what's the matter↓]
3       Chris:     →[please please    ] please (.) please↓
4       Duncan:      what's going on↓
5       Chris:     →do me a favour I'm in a hurry↓ (.) you do electrical
6                    engineering ↑don't you↓
7       Duncan:      yeah↑ that's right↑ electrical engineering↑
8                    (1.2)
9       Chris:       °can you cover for me tonight↑°
10                   (1.5)
11      Duncan:      tsk sorry mate↓ I'm- I'm teaching (.) tonight↓ five
12                   thirty till eight↓
13                   (.)
14      Duncan:      ↑yea[:::h↓
15      Chris:           [(do you mind↑) they-
16      Duncan:      ↑yea:::h↓ yeah↓ look I'm on I'm on sorry can't do it
17                   anyone else you cn call↑
18      Chris:       no↓ they don't need any-thing↓ they just need (.)
19                   looking in on↓ [baby-sittin]g for two hours↓
20      Duncan:                     [ ↑ri::ght↓ ]
        (dialogue continues)
```

Dialogue (S) contains multiple pre-expansions. The first pre-expansion comes in line 1 with "oh Duncan just the guy↓". This turn contains an address term, which shows that Duncan is the person who Chris had been looking for. Duncan orients to this turn as demonstrating that Chris has a problem and replies with "[what's the matter↓]". As Duncan is speaking, Chris speaks in partial overlap with "`[please please]` please (.) please↓". This shows that there is a possible request to be granted. Then Chris does a pre-pre sequence in line 5, "do me a favour I'm in a hurry↓ (.)". The pre-pre is followed by a

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pre-request, “you do electrical engineering ↑don’t you↓”. The pre-request receives a go-ahead response. In line 9, Chris makes the request, “°can you cover for me tonight↑°”.

In addition to dialogues (Q), (R), and (S), a pre-request also was present in exercise (T) below. This is a listening exercise where the students listen to the conversation and then decide if the participant is making a request or a demand based on their volume and tone. Then the students decide how the listener should respond to the request and write a possible response on line 6. In the dialogue below the request was made with a polite/soft tone.

(T) Exercise with a pre-request

(*Tapestry* 3-C, p. 89)

1 Adolfo: →Excuse me, Tri. Did you bring your book today?
2 Tri: Yes, I did. Why?
3 Adolfo: I forgot my book today and we're going to review for
4 the quiz. Would you mind sharing your book with me
5 while we do the review?
6 Tri: ______________________________________

In line 1, Adolfo makes a pre-request, “Did you bring your book today?”. Tri gives a hedging response with “Yes, I did. Why?”. The most preferred response to a pre-request would be an offer, but Tri does not make an offer. So, in the absence of an offer, in line 3 Adolfo explains why he asked about the book and goes on to make a request to share the book.

Only dialogues (Q), (R), and (S), and exercise (T) above contained pre-requests. So the pre-request, an important device used to avoid dispreferred responses, was absent from 20 of the 23 request dialogues. Pre-requests are used for a specific purpose, to avoid a dispreferred response. If that purpose is already met, as in the case of service encounters where compliance to a request is usually expected, a pre-request is not necessary. However, while there are no data to show the exact frequency of pre-requests in natural conversation, Heritage (1984) explains how pre-sequences, (and in particular pre-requests) are so common in conversation that failure to use a pre-sequence can be grounds for criticism and sanction:

> Here, then, we encounter the pre-sequence object as a further, very commonly used conversational device through which dispreferred, face-threatening actions and sequences can be systematically avoided in interaction. Moreover, since pre-sequences are commonly used to this end, a participant's failure to employ one may itself become accountable. The utterance 'May I borrow your car?' which is unprefaced by, for example, 'I was wondering if, by any chance, you weren't using the car tonight' may, unless the circumstances are very special, provoke both sanction and irritated gossip. (p. 279)

Dialogues (U) to (Y) below contain requests, of the kind mentioned by Heritage above, that are made without any pre-request. The requests below range from asking to borrow money, a video camera, and a book, to taping a class, and coming over to visit. All of the requests seem abrupt in the absence of a pre-sequence.

(U) Request without a pre-request

(*American Streamline Departures, Book B*, p. 62)

Paul: →Hey, Bill, can you lend me $10?
Bill: Sorry, I can't. I haven't been to the bank today.
Paul: Oh, I haven't been there either and I need some money. We could go now.
Bill: No, the bank's closed. It's too late. Why don't you ask Pete?
Paul: Has he been to the bank?
Bill: Yes, he has. He always goes to the bank on Mondays.

(V) Request without a pre-request

(*New interchange 3-I*, p. 14)

Jack: Hi, Rod. This is Jack.
Rod: Oh, hi, Jack. What's up?

Jack: I'm going to my best friend's wedding this weekend. →I'd love to videotape it. Would you mind if I borrowed your video camera?
Rod: Um, yeah. That's OK, I guess. I don't think I'll need it for anything.
Jack: Thanks a million.
Rod: Sure. Have you used a video camera before? It's pretty easy.
Jack: Yeah, a couple of times. Would it be OK if I picked it up on Friday night?
Rod: Fine, no problem.

(W) Request without a pre-request

(*Say it naturally 1-C*, p. 146)

Michael: →Hey, José, would you mind lending me your accounting book this evening? I left mine at school.
José: Sorry, Mike, but I've got to use mine tonight to study for a big test tomorrow. Maybe you can borrow Robert's.

(X) Request without a pre-request

(*Atlas, Book 3*, p. 46)

A: Hello. Could I speak to Jim, please?
B: Speaking.
A: Jim, this is Hillary. I have a doctor's appointment →tomorrow, so I won't be at school. Could you tape the class for me?
B: No, I'm sorry, I can't. I have a dentist's appointment, so I won't be at school either.

(Y) Request without a pre-request

(*Atlas, Book 2*, p. 46)

A: Can I speak to Terry, please?
B: Sure. Who's calling?
A: Sally.
B: OK. Wait a minute—I'll get her.
A: Thanks.
C: Terry here.
A: Hi! This is Sally.
C Hi, Sally!
A: →Can I come over and visit?
C Sure.

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Finally, dialogue (Z) below illustrates how requests can be disguised as offers as in extract (13) above. This supports the idea that offers are preferred over requests (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1979, 1995). However, the ambiguity between requests and offers is rarely pointed out in the textbooks.

(Z) Request disguised as an offer

(*Spectrum 3A-I*, p. 12)

(This starts from the middle of the dialogue)
1 Sue: Well, don't keep us in suspense. Tell us about your
2 trip.
3 Molly: I'd say it was the nicest vacation we've ever taken,
4 wouldn't you, Jack?
5 Jack: Absolutely. You really ought to go. You won't be
6 disappointed.
7 Molly: The scenery was spectacular.
8 Jack: And the animal life was fascinating.
9 Molly: Jack and I are very interested in wildlife.
10 Jack: →Would you like to see our slides? We just got them
11 back today.
12 Ken: Hmmm...it might be a little late for...
13 Sue: Oh, of course. We'd love to see them.

In lines 1-9, the co-participants are discussing Molly and Jack's vacation. Then in line 10, Jack asks a question "Would you like to see our slides?" which is done as an offer, but may be a request disguised as an offer. Ken gives a dispreferred response in line 12 "Hmmm...it might be a little late for...". This potential ambiguity between offers and requests could have been pointed out explicitly in the textbook.

Dialogue (AA) below does not provide an example of a pre-request, but it shows how a "hint" can be used in a similar way as a pre-request. In the dialogue below, a "hint" works like a pre-request, as it is responded to with an invitation/offer.

(AA) Hint followed by an invitation/offer

(New interchange 1-I, p. 37)

```
1     Rod:        You're in great shape, Keith. Do you work out at a gym?
2     Keith:      Yeah, I do.  I guess I'm a real fitness freak.
3     Rod:        So, how often do you work out?
4     Keith:      Well, I do aerobics every day after work.  And then I
5                 play racquetball.
6     Rod:       →Say, I like racquetball, too.
7     Keith:     →Oh, do you want to play sometime?
8     Rod:        Uh, ... how well do you play?
9     Keith:      Pretty well, I guess.
10    Rod:        Well, all right.  But I'm not very good.
11    Keith:      No problem, Rod.  I won't play too hard.
```

In the first few lines of the dialogue, Rod asks Keith how often he works out. When Keith explains that he likes to play racquetball, Rod responds in line 6 with “Say, I like racquetball, too.”. This hint elicits an invitation/offer in line 7, “Oh, do you want to play sometime?”. However, in line 8, it looks as if a possible dispreferred response is on the way. As Rod just hinted that he would like to play racquetball, it is strange that he would give a discouraging response to the invitation/offer when it was finally made.

2.3 Pre-Pre Sequences in Textbooks

Finally, I will look at a different kind of type-specific pre-sequence, the pre-pre sequence. I will examine examples of pre-pre sequences from the textbooks and compare these sequences with those described by conversation analysts. As described in the literature review, conversation analytic research has shown that the base first pair part projected by a pre-pre does not immediately follow the pre-pre.

Dialogue (S) was the only dialogue that accurately demonstrated the use of a pre-pre sequence.

(S) Request dialogue with a pre-pre sequence

(*Beyond talk-C*, pp. 123-124)

```
1    Chris:     oh Duncan just the guy↓
2    Duncan:    [what's the matter↓]
3    Chris:     [ please please ] please (.) please↓
4    Duncan:    what's going on↓
5    Chris:    →do me a favour I'm in a hurry↓ (.) you do electrical
6               engineering ↑don't you↓
7    Duncan:    yeah↑ that's right↑ electrical engineering↑
8               (1.2)
9    Chris:     °can you cover for me tonight↑°
10              (1.5)
11   Duncan:    tsk sorry mate↓ I'm- I'm teaching (.) tonight↓ five
12              thirty till eight↓
13              (.)
14   Duncan:    ↑yea[:::h↓
15   Chris:         [(do you mind↑) they-
16   Duncan:    ↑yea:::h↓ yeah↓ look I'm on I'm on sorry can't do it
17              anyone else you cn call↑
18   Chris:     no↓ they don't need any-thing↓ they just need (.)
19              looking in on↓ [baby-sittin]g for two hours↓
20   Duncan:                   [ ↑ri::ght↓ ]
     (dialogue continues)
```

Dialogue (S) contains multiple pre-expansions. The first pre-expansion comes in line 1 with "oh Duncan just the guy↓". This turn contains an address term, which shows that Duncan is the person who Chris had been looking for. Duncan orients to this turn as demonstrating that Chris has a problem and replies with "[what's the matter↓]". As Duncan is speaking, Chris speaks in partial overlap with "[please please] please (.) please↓". As described above, dialogue (S) contains multiple pre-expansions. Then in line 5, Chris uses a pre-pre "do me a favour I'm in a hurry↓". This projects a base first pair part of a request. However, the first pair part of a request does not immediately follow the pre-pre. Instead, Chris follows the pre-pre with a pre-request, asking for information that he needs to know before he can make the request, "you do electrical engineering ↑don't you↓". Only after Chris gets a go-ahead response this pre-request, does he make the request in line 9.

As described by conversation analysts, the pre-pre in dialogue (S) was followed by talk other than the projected base first pair part. However, in the other textbook dialogues which contained pre-pres, the pre-pre was followed by exactly this projected first pair part. Dialogue (AB) below is part of an exercise where each of the lines is a multiple-choice question. I chose the correct answers[5] to compose the dialogue below.

(AB) Request dialogue with a pre-pre sequence

(ExpressWays 2W-I, p. 6)

```
1    A:  →Could I ask you a favor?
2    B:    What is it?
3    A:  →Could you lend me your car to pick up my son?
4    B:    All right.
5    A:    Are you sure?
6    B:    Yes.  I'd be happy to lend you my car.
7    A:    Thanks. I appreciate it.
```

In line 1, A does the pre-pre "Could I ask you a favor?". This projects the eventual but not immediate asking of a request. In line 2, B responds to the pre-pre by asking what the favor is. Then in line 3, A goes on to state the request. In contrast, the CA literature describes that "one regular occurrence is that what follows next after an action projection is not an instance of the projected action, for example, what follows a question projection is not a question" (Schegloff, 1980, p. 110). However, in the dialogue above it is a request, the projected action, that follows the pre-pre.

In dialogue (AC) below, there are also problems with the use of the pre-pre. Above this dialogue, there is a description of the setting "Carol walks into Betty's house and sees her struggling with a window blind" (Wall, 1998b, p. 95).

(AC) Request dialogue with a pre-pre sequence

(Say it naturally 2-C, p. 95)

Betty: → Gosh, I'm glad to see you. Could you do me a favor?
Carol: Sure. What is it?
Betty: → I need some help putting up these blinds. Would you mind?
Carol: Not at all.

(Later)
Carol: I think that does it. Anything else you need help with?
Betty: No, that's it. I really appreciate your help, Carol.
Carol: Any time.

In this dialogue, the pre-pre "Could you do me a favor?" is responded to with "Sure. What is it?" After this response, Betty starts to describe what she needs help with and then she proceeds to make the request. At first, this appears to follow the description of pre-pres in CA literature, as the request does not directly follow the pre-pre, but instead there is an explanation that sets up the request. However, it is questionable whether in this situation, a verbal explanation is needed before the request. It would seem likely that if Carol walked into the room and saw Betty "struggling with the blinds" that Carol would make an offer and neither a pre-pre or a request would be needed.

2.4 Discussion

As there is no indication from CA research that all invitations in natural conversation are preceded by pre-invitations, it is not necessary for every invitation dialogue in a textbook to be preceded by a pre-invitation. However, of the 36 dialogues I examined, only three dialogues and one exercise accurately portrayed pre-invitations. This is not enough to teach students about this important aspect of interaction. Each textbook should include at least a few examples of pre-invitations so students have the opportunity to learn about this practice of actual invitations. Textbooks should include pre-invitations that receive blocking, hedging, and go-ahead responses.

At the very least, textbook dialogues should offer implicit models of pre-invitations which closely match descriptions of pre-invitations from conversation analysis as in *New interchange 2-I* (Richards, 2001) and *Spectrum 3A-I* (Warshawsky & Byrd, 1994). However, students at the intermediate level and above have high enough language proficiency to be able to understand meta-language and therefore, they would benefit from explicit explanations of the interactive functions of pre-invitations. Only two of the books I examined contained explicit explanations of the form and function of pre-invitations: *Say it naturally I-C* (Wall, 1998a) and *Beyond talk-C* (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997).

However, it is important that textbooks which include explicit teaching about pre-invitations also accurately portray pre-invitations in dialogues and exercises. In one textbook, *Say it naturally I-C* (Wall, 1998a), accurate information was presented in the direct instruction about the form and function of pre-invitations; however, some of the dialogues and exercises did not accurately portray pre-invitations because the pre-invitation and invitation came in the same turn of talk. The explicit teaching about pre-invitations is only effective if it is supported by textbook dialogues and exercises which demonstrate characteristics described in conversation analytic research.

The major problem with the portrayal of pre-invitations in the textbook dialogues and exercises was the sequential position of pre-invitations in relation to the invitation or to the conversation as a whole. In some dialogues and exercises, the pre-invitation came in the same turn as the invitation. With no opportunity for the co-participant to respond to the pre-invitation, the interactional purpose of the pre-invitation, to try to avoid giving an invitation that would likely be rejected, is lost. In other dialogues, because it was not clear whether the dialogue occurred in the beginning or at the end of a conversation, the pre-invitation phrase could be interpreted as either a pre-invitation or a simple information question about weekend plans.

As sequential aspects of interaction are essential to an understanding of pre-invitations, and these aspects were problematic in many textbook dialogues, it is this sequential aspect of interaction that needs to be stressed in teaching about pre-invitations. However, it is important to recognize that sequence, as described by conversation analysts, refers not only to structure but also the course of action being done by the talk.

Offer dialogues were much harder to find than request or invitation dialogues. Even *Beyond talk-C* (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997) provided no examples of offer dialogues and therefore, no explanation of the form and function of pre-offers. There needs to be more of an emphasis on offers in ESL textbooks, as students need to learn not only how to make requests but also how to make offers. This is especially important considering the preference for offers over requests. Students need to be able to recognize a pre-request and reply with an offer.

Some textbooks pointed out the preference for offers over requests through dialogues and practice activities. However, while there were some examples of pre-requests in the textbook dialogues, there was no instance of a pre-request eliciting an offer. As an offer is the most preferred response to a pre-request, textbooks need to offer examples of this type in order to demonstrate the preference for offers over requests. Another way textbooks could reinforce the preference for offers over requests would be to present dialogues in which requests are disguised as offers. While there was one example of this type of dialogue, the ambiguous nature of the offer/request was not explicitly discussed in the textbook.

The results of this study were similar to results of a 1987 study by Scott. This study found that although there are some accurate implicit models of the preference for requests over offers, what is lacking is any explicit focus on the form and function of pre-requests. In my study, the only textbook with explicit instruction about the language needed to make pre-requests was *Beyond talk-C* (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997).

Of the 23 request dialogues, one exercise and three dialogues contained pre-requests. The request dialogues without any type of pre-sequence sounded very abrupt. As a way to teach students to make less direct requests, textbooks often gave a list of possible phrases to make requests at different levels of formality. For example, Richards (2001) states in *New interchange 3-I* that "less formal requests are more direct than formal requests" (p. 15) and then provides the following list as part of a grammar focus on "requests with modals and if clauses" (p. 15).

(AD) Formality of requests

(*New interchange 3-I*, p. 15)

less formal	Can I borrow your pencil?
	Could you please lend me a suit?
↓	Is it OK if I use your phone?
	Do you mind if I use your CD player?
	Would it be OK if I borrowed your video camera?
	Would you mind if I borrowed your video camera?
	Would you mind letting me borrow your laptop?
	I wonder if I could borrow $100.
more formal	I was wondering if you'd mind lending me your car.

This kind of continuum teaches students that the only way to make requests more direct is to substitute one phrase for another. Without any preliminary interactional work, such as a pre-request, it is unclear whether phrases such as "Can I borrow $100?" and "I was wondering if I could borrow $100." are really very different. Instead, it would be beneficial if textbooks would explicitly point out the possibility of using a pre-request before making a request.

Pre-pres were a different type of pre-sequence that was accurately represented only in *Beyond talk-C* (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997). Conversation analytic research shows that the base first pair part projected by the pre-pre does not immediately follow the pre-pre. Instead, a pre-pre is followed by talk which is preliminary to the projected base first pair part. However, in some textbook dialogues, pre-pres were followed by the base first pair part projected by the pre-pre, exactly what should not follow the pre-pre. Also, in one dialogue a pre-pre was used when the situation described in the textbook made it clear that instead of a pre-pre, an offer should have been made.

Beyond talk-C (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997) offers one possibility for applying insights from conversation analysis to language teaching. This book not only provides dialogues that offer implicit models of pre-sequences as described by conversation analysts, it also explicitly teaches how pre-sequences are used in interaction. Dialogues in this textbook are presented with overlap, pauses, stress, and intonation, all features left out of traditional textbook dialogues.

Barraja-Rohan found that students reacted positively to this new approach to language teaching (A.-M. Barraja-Rohan, personal communication, February 17, 2002). Students enjoyed the "real life" that this approach brought in the language classroom and the use of detailed transcripts did not pose a problem in the classroom. The book also received two positive reviews in Australia. The only problem was that some teachers had trouble with the meta-language used to discuss the CA concepts. However, this would not be a problem if teachers were made aware of the findings of CA research as part of teacher training programs.

Despite the advantages of the approach used by Barraja-Rohan and Pritchard (1997), many students will not have the opportunity to take an entire class solely focusing on conversation from a conversation analytic perspective. Teachers also often teach from a set textbook and may not have time to collect authentic data to supplement the textbook dialogues or may lack training in analyzing data from a conversation analytic perspective.

In chapter three, I will present an approach which would allow insights from conversation analysis about pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests, to be incorporated into an integrated skills language class by supplementing the existing textbook. This type of approach is only an intermediate step, as I hope that textbooks will eventually include dialogues that more accurately represent natural conversation, as well as explicit instruction about interaction.

In an integrated skills class, teachers can teach students the short lessons I designed about pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests. Each lesson presents the features of pre-sequences through a transcript of natural language. These lessons are written to stand alone, so they could be presented separately or together. After students are familiar with these types of pre-sequences, teachers can follow my suggestions for adapting dialogues from existing integrated skills textbooks in order to incorporate insights from conversation analytic research. McCarthy and Carter (1994) advocate this type of approach:

> …we recognize that many teachers (probably the majority) work within constrained syllabuses and with pre-selected material. It is therefore important that teachers and learners become critically aware of what the materials are offering them, and that they should perceive opportunities to adapt them where they are felt to be lacking in the features of natural discourse. (p. 194)

The lessons I present in this study are limited as they describe only one feature of natural conversation described by conversation analysts, the pre-sequence, and in particular, pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests. In order to make the traditional syllabus more about interaction and less about memorizing lists of phrases used for certain functions, similar lessons need to be created to make additional research from conversation analysis accessible to teachers and students.

3. APPLICATION TO LANGUAGE TEACHING

3.1 Adapting and Supplementing Dialogues from Existing Textbooks

The three lessons below can be used as supplements to textbooks in order to introduce intermediate and advanced students to the interaction involved in making pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests. These lessons are based on two excerpts of natural conversation that were described in the literature review in chapter 1 and one excerpt of natural conversation not described in this paper. For students to understand the transcripts, teachers need to present them with the transcript conventions in the Appendix.

As an alternative to using these lessons, teachers can record naturally occurring pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests and create lessons following the model presented in this chapter. This is ideal, as students will have the opportunity both to listen to the spoken data and examine written transcripts of the data.

After students complete the introductory lessons on pre-sequences, this chapter presents questions teachers can ask students about existing textbook dialogues that fail to accurately portray pre-sequences or lack pre-sequences when they are necessary. In this way, even problematic textbook dialogues can be used to teach more about interaction. All of the textbook dialogues presented below were analyzed in detail in chapter two.

Introduction to Pre-Invitations

Students read the dialogue below aloud with a partner and then answer the questions following the dialogue.

(7) **Invitation Dialogue**[6]

```
(CG, 1, Nelson is the caller; Clara is called to the phone)
(Schegloff, 1995, p. 22)
```

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1 Clara: Hello
2 Nelson: Hi.
3 Clara: Hi.
4 Nelson: → Watcha doin'
5 Clara: Not much.
6 Nelson: Y'wanna drink?
7 Clara: Yeah.
8 Nelson: Okay.
(conversation continues)

Discussion Questions

1. In which part of the phone conversation does the invitation occur?
2. What is the purpose of Nelson's question in line 4 of the dialogue?
3. What similar questions might be used in line 4 instead of "Watcha doin'?"
4. How does Nelson use the question in line 4 to make an invitation?
5. Why is it important that Nelson's question in line 4 come before the invitation?
6. In line 4, does Nelson give Clara a chance to answer his question or does he continue talking? Why is this important?
7. How does Clara respond in line 5 to the question in line 4? What does this tell Nelson?

After students finish answering the questions with a partner, the teacher elicits answers from students and writes them on the board. At this point, the teacher leads a discussion about the answers but does not comment on the accuracy of the answers. Finally, students read the short explanation about pre-invitations below and decide if they want to change or add to any of the answers on the board.

Reading: Pre-Invitations

(Schegloff, 1995)

Form
Pre-invitations come in forms such as: Are you doing anything on Saturday night? Are you busy on Friday? What are you doing on Monday? Pre-invitations are used either near the beginning of a conversation or near the end of a conversation. After the pre-invitation, the person who makes the pre-invitation gives the other speaker a chance to answer.

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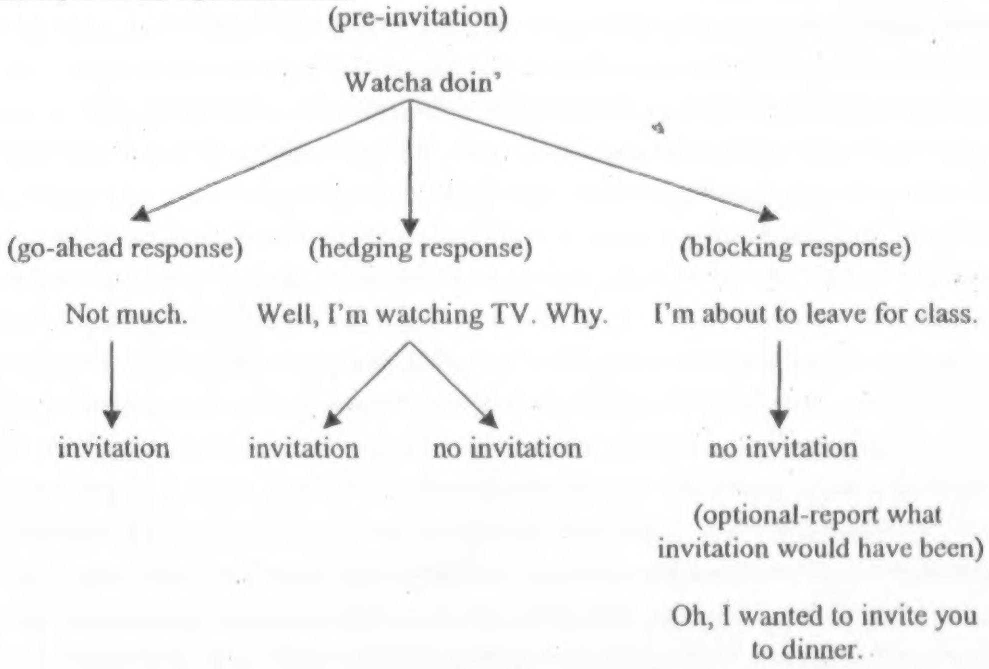
Function

People use pre-invitations to try to avoid making an invitation that would likely be rejected. The response to a pre-invitation helps people decide whether or not their invitation will be accepted. If the response is a go-ahead response (the speaker states that they are not busy), the other speaker can make the invitation and feel fairly confident that the invitation will be accepted. If the response is a hedging response (the speaker does not give a definite response about their plans or asks "why"), the other speaker can take a chance and make the invitation or avoid making the invitation. If the response is a blocking response (the speaker states that they are busy), the other speaker can avoid making the invitation or report what the invitation would have been.

Possible responses to a pre-invitation


(pre-invitation)
Watcha doin'
(go-ahead response)
(hedging response)
(blocking response)
Not much.
Well, I'm watching TV. Why.
I'm about to leave for class.
invitation
invitation
no invitation
no invitation
(optional-report what invitation would have been)
Oh, I wanted to invite you to dinner.

After completing the reading, students go back to the discussion questions and decide if they want to change or add to any of the answers on the board. Then students discuss the answers to the questions as a whole class. As a final exercise, students role play the dialogue above two additional times. In order to reinforce preference structure, students practice more preferred responses before less preferred responses. First, students practice giving a go-ahead response to the pre-invitation in line 4. Then they practice giving a hedging response to the pre-invitation.

Using Dialogues which do not Accurately Portray Pre-Invitations

After students have been introduced to pre-invitations with the exercises above, they are ready for any of the following exercises. In textbooks, teachers will find dialogues like dialogue (A) below which contain an invitation without a pre-invitation. Teachers can either add a pre-invitation to the dialogue or have students critically analyze the dialogue by answering the following questions:

1. In line 1, how could speaker A have tried to avoid giving an invitation that would likely be rejected?
2. Change the dialogue to include a question before line 1, which would help speaker A decide whether or not to make the invitation.

(A) Invitation Dialogue

(*ExpressWays 3-I*, p. 140)

1 A: →Would you by any chance be interested in going dancing
2 →tomorrow night?
3 B: Tomorrow night? I'm afraid I can't. I have to work
4 overtime.
5 A: That's too bad.
6 B: It is. Going dancing sounds like a lot more fun than working
7 overtime. Maybe some other time.

If teachers confront a dialogue such as (6) below, in which a pre-invitation and invitation occur in the same turn, teachers can use the dialogue to teach students the importance of the pause after a pre-invitation. Teachers can ask students the following questions about the dialogue:

1. How might the dialogue be different if Tony had paused after the pre-invitation?
2. How could Tony have tried to avoid giving an invitation that would likely be rejected?

(G) Invitation Dialogue

(*New interchange 1-I*, p. 92)

1 Tony: →Say, Anna, what are you doing tonight? Would you
2 →like to go out?
3 Anna: Oh, sorry, I can't. I'm going to work late tonight. I
4 have to finish this report.
5 Tony: Well, how about tomorrow night? Are you doing
6 anything then?
7 Anna: No, I'm not. What are you planning to do?
8 Tony: I'm going to see a musical. Would you like to come?
9 Anna: Sure. I'd love to! But let me pay for the tickets this
10 time. It's my turn.
11 Tony: All right! Thanks!

When teachers find a dialogue such as dialogue (J) below that contains a question that could be seen as either a pre-invitation or a simple information question, they can ask students the following question about the dialogue:

1. What are two possible purposes for the question in line 1?
2. Since there are two possible purposes for the question in line 1, what can help you interpret the purpose of this type of question in a conversation?

(J) Invitation Dialogue

(*American Streamline Departures*, Part A, p. 39)

1 A: →What are you doing this weekend?
2 B: I'm going out of town.
3 A: Oh? Where are you going?
4 B: I'm going to Cape Cod.
5 A: For how long?
6 B: Just for two days.

All of these exercises help teach students about both the form and function of pre-invitations by exploiting some of the problems with existing textbook dialogues. After students have completed the first activity with the model dialogue, then they are prepared to think critically about other textbook dialogues.

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The lesson on pre-offers could be taught after the lesson on pre-invitations, or the two lessons could be completely separate. The lesson on pre-offers has the same structure as the one on pre-invitations. Students read a dialogue aloud with a partner and answer questions about the dialogue. Next, the teacher elicits answers from students and writes the answers on the board. At this point, the teacher leads a discussion about the answers but does not comment on the accuracy of the answers. Then students read a short lesson about pre-offers and decide whether to change their answers. Finally, the whole class discusses the questions and students change answers based on the information in the reading.

Introduction to Pre-Offers

Students read the dialogue below with a partner and then answer the questions.

(4) Offer Dialogue

```
(Bookstore, 2,1:107) (Schegloff, 1995, pg. 28)

1   Cathy:     I'm gonna buy a thermometer though [because I=
2     Les:                                        [But-
3   Cathy:     =think she's [(got a temperature).
4     Gar:  →               [We have a thermometer.
5   Cathy:     (Yih do?)
6     Gar:     Wanta use it?
7   Cathy:     Yeah.
8              (3.0)
```

Discussion Questions

1. What is the purpose of the statement in line 4 of the dialogue?
2. What other statements or questions might be used in line 4 instead of "We have a thermometer."
3. Does this statement in line 4 come before or after the offer? Why is this important?
4. After the statement in line 4, does Gar give Cathy a chance to speak or does he continue talking? Why is this important?
5. How does Gar know that Cathy might accept an offer for the thermometer?

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After students finish answering the questions with a partner, the teacher elicits answers from students and writes them on the board. At this point, the teacher leads a discussion about the answers but does not comment on the accuracy of the answers. Finally, students read the short explanation about pre-offers below and decide if they want to change or add to any of the answers on the board.

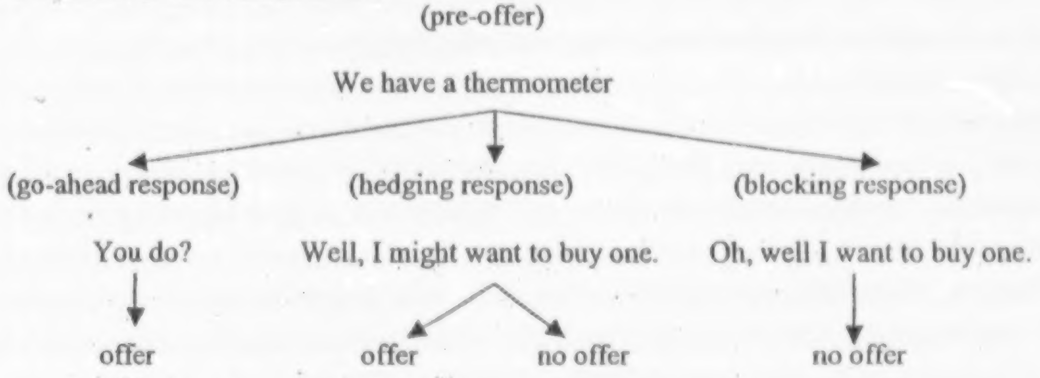
Reading: Pre-Offers

(Schegloff, 1995)

Form
Pre-offers come in many different forms. Statements can only be interpreted as pre-offers based on the context of the conversation. After a pre-offer, the person who makes the pre-offer gives the other speaker a chance to respond.

Function
People use pre-offers to avoid having their offers rejected. The response to a pre-offer helps people decide whether or not their offer will be accepted. If the response is a go-ahead response (the speaker indicates that the offer will be accepted), the other speaker can make the offer and feel fairly confident that the offer will be accepted. If the response is a hedging response (the speaker gives no clear indication whether the offer will be accepted), the other speaker can take a chance and make the offer or avoid making the offer. Finally, if the response is a blocking response (the speaker indicates that he/she is not able to accept the offer), the other speaker can avoid making the offer.

Possible responses to a pre-offer


(pre-offer)
We have a thermometer
(go-ahead response)
(hedging response)
(blocking response)
You do?
Well, I might want to buy one.
Oh, well I want to buy one.
offer
offer
no offer
no offer

As a final exercise, students role play the dialogue above two additional times. In order to reinforce preference structure, students practice more preferred responses before less preferred responses. First, students practice giving a hedging response to the pre-offer in line 4. Then they practice giving a blocking response to the pre-offer.

Using Dialogues without Pre-Offers

After students have been introduced to pre-offers in the exercise above, they are ready for any of the following exercises. Students can look at offer dialogues in textbooks that do not contain pre-offers and suggest possible pre-offers the participant in the conversation could have used. The questions below could be adapted for any dialogue in which a pre-offer is not used but could be used. For example, students can answer the following questions about dialogue (M).

1. What could Ann have said differently in lines 12-13 in order to make a pre-offer?
2. Why might Ann want to use a pre-offer?

(M) Offer Dialogue

(*Spectrum 3A-I*, p. 3)

```
1    Bob:    Any plans for the weekend?
2    Ann:    It depends on the weather.  If it's nice, I'll
3            probably go camping.  But if it isn't, maybe I'll just
4            stay home and clean my apartment.  It could certainly
5            use it. How about you?
6    Bob:    I'm going to Toronto.
7    Ann:    Oh, is that where you're from?
8    Bob:    No, that's where my parents live now.  I grew up in
9            Ottowa.
10   Ann:    How are you getting there?
11   Bob:    I'm thinking of flying, but it depends on how much it
12           costs. If it's too expensive, I'll take the bus.
13   Ann:   →Well, listen, if you need a ride to the airport, let
14          →me know. I'll be happy to drive you, if I'm around.
15   Bob:    Oh, thanks.  That's really nice of you.
```

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These exercises help teach students about both the form and function of pre-offers by using existing textbook dialogues in which pre-offers are absent. After students have completed the first activity with the model dialogue, then they are prepared to add their own pre-offers to other textbook dialogues.

The lesson on pre-requests could be taught after the lesson on pre-invitations and pre-offers, or the lessons could be completely separate. The lesson on pre-requests has the same structure as the previous lessons. This lesson points out to students that the most preferred response to a pre-request is a pre-emptive offer. Students read a dialogue aloud with a partner and answer questions about the dialogue. Next, the teacher elicits answers from students and writes the answers on the board. The teacher leads a discussion about the answers but does not comment on the accuracy of the answers. Then students read a short lesson about pre-requests and decide whether to change any of their answers. Finally, the whole class discusses the questions and students change answers based on the information in the reading.

Introduction to Pre-Requests

Students read the following dialogue aloud with a partner. Then students answer the questions following the dialogue.

Request Dialogue

((80) 176) (Levinson, 1983, p. 343)

C: → Hullo I was just ringing up to ask if you were going to
     Bertrand's party
R: Yes I thought you might be
C: Heh heh
R: → Yes would you like a lift?
C: Oh I'd love one

Discussion Questions

1. What is the purpose of the statement in lines 1-2 of the dialogue?
2. What similar statement might be used in line 1-2 instead of "Hullo I was just ringing up to ask if you were going to Bertrand's party"?
3. After the statement in line 1-2, does C give R a chance to speak or does she continue talking? Why is this important?
4. How does R respond in lines 3 and 5 to the statement in lines 1-2?
5. What else could R have said in lines 3 and 5?
6. How does C's statement in lines 1 and 2 help elicit an offer from R in line 5?

After students finish answering the questions with a partner, the teacher elicits answers from students and writes them on the board. At this point, the teacher leads a discussion about the answers but does not comment on the accuracy of the answers. Finally, students read the short explanation about pre-invitations below and decide if they want to change or add to any of the answers on the board.

Reading: Pre-Requests

(Schegloff, 1995)

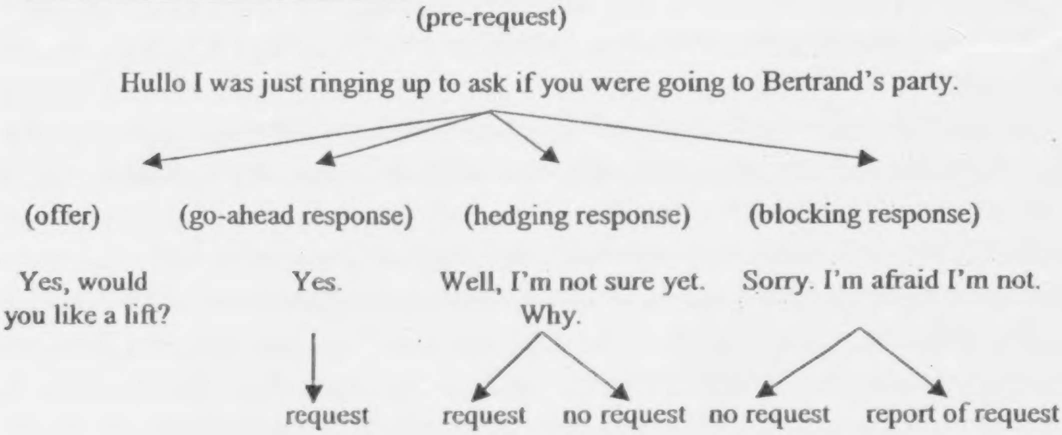
Form

Pre-requests come in many different forms. Statements can only be interpreted as pre-requests based on the context of the conversation. After a pre-request, the person who makes the pre-request gives the other speaker a chance to answer.

Function

People use pre-requests to try and get an offer rather than having to make a request. If they do not get an offer, then the response to a pre-request helps them decide whether or not their request will be granted. The most favorable response to a pre-request is for the other speaker to make an offer. The next preferred response is a go-ahead response (the speaker indicates that there is a possibility that the request will be granted). For example, if a speaker asks the question "Do you still have the book?, then a go-ahead response would be "Yeah." In this case, the speaker can make the request knowing that there is a possibility that the request will be granted. If the response is a hedging response (the speaker gives no clear indication whether the request will be granted), the other speaker can avoid making the request or take a chance and make the request. If the response is a blocking response (the speaker indicates that he/she is not able to grant the request), the other speaker can avoid making the request altogether.

Possible responses to a pre-request


(pre-request)
Hullo I was just ringing up to ask if you were going to Bertrand's party.
(offer)
(go-ahead response)
(hedging response)
(blocking response)
Yes, would you like a lift?
Yes.
Well, I'm not sure yet. Why.
Sorry. I'm afraid I'm not.
request
request
no request
no request
report of request

After completing the reading, students go back to the discussion questions and decide if they want to change any of their answers. Then students discuss the answers to the questions as a whole class. As a final exercise, students role play the dialogue above two additional times. In order to reinforce that offers are preferred over requests, students first practice giving a preferred response, an offer, and then a less preferred response, a go-ahead response.

Using Dialogues without Pre-Requests

After students have been introduced to pre-requests in the exercise above, they are ready for any of the following exercises. Students can look at request dialogues in textbooks that do not contain pre-requests and suggest possible pre-requests the participant in the conversation could have used. The questions below could be adapted for any dialogue in which a pre-request is not used but could be used. For example, students can answer the following questions about dialogue (W):

1. Why might Michael want to use a pre-request?
2. What could Michael say differently in lines 1-2 in order to check if his request is likely to get accepted or to get an offer?

(W) Request Dialogue

(Say it naturally 1-C, p. 146)

1 Michael: →Hey, José, would you mind lending me your accounting
2 book this evening? I left mine at school.
3 José: Sorry, Mike, but I've got to use mine tonight to study
4 for a big test tomorrow. Maybe you can borrow
5 Robert's.

Students could answer the following questions about dialogue (V) below.

1. Why might Jack want to use a pre-request?
2. What could Jack have said differently in lines 4-5 in order to check to see if his request is likely to get accepted or in order to get Rod to make an offer?

(V) Request Dialogue

(New interchange 3-I, p. 14)

1 Jack: Hi, Rod. This is Jack.
2 Rod: Oh, hi, Jack. What's up?
3 Jack: I'm going to my best friend's wedding this weekend.
4 →I'd love to videotape it. Would you mind if I
5 →borrowed your video camera?
6 Rod: Um, yeah. That's OK, I guess. I don't think I'll
7 need it for anything.
8 Jack: Thanks a million.
9 Rod: Sure. Have you used a video camera before? It's
10 pretty easy.
11 Jack: Yeah, a couple of times. Would it be OK if I picked
12 it up on Friday night?
13 Rod: Fine, no problem.

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These exercises help teach students about both the form and function of pre-requests by using existing textbook dialogues in which pre-requests are absent. After students have completed the first activity with the model dialogue, then they are prepared to critically analyze additional textbook dialogues.

3.2 Training Students to Collect and Analyze Natural Language

The following section will describe activities for students to collect and analyze natural language in order to learn about invitations, offers, and requests. If this research is conducted at a university, the instructor would need to get permission to use human subjects from the university's institutional review board.

Burns, Gollin, and Joyce (1996) recommend that students act as language ethnographers by investigating turn taking patterns and strategies, as well as turn types. While aspects of natural speech such as turn taking can be studied in any recorded talk, invitations, offers, and requests are harder to find as they do not occur in every conversation.

As it is difficult to find and record naturally occurring invitations, offers, and requests, one alternative is for students to call an English speaking friend, make a pre-invitation, pre-offer, or pre-request and then record the friend's response. This is not "natural" data in the sense that the student is making an invitation, offer, or request for the purposes of learning more about pre-sequences. However, it would give students some experience with pre-sequences and give them an idea of possible responses to the pre-sequences studied in the classroom. The person called should be someone the student might make an invitation, offer, or request to anyway, and the invitation, offer, or request should be "real" in the sense that is carried through if the other speaker accepts.

One important issue when recording natural data is to get permission to record. If students record phone data, they need to ask permission of the other speaker on the phone before the conversation. The phone conversation can be recorded using a phone pick-up device which is attached to the student's phone. These pick-up devices are inexpensive and they could be shared among classmates. The laws about phone recordings vary by state and country, so teachers need to check legality and restrictions on phone recording in their region before giving students this assignment.

One technique for students to get an idea of the way people make requests would be to ask students to tape record service encounters. Students could choose locations such as the front desk of a graduate dormitory, the front office of a school, or a small convenience store. If students record data in a service encounter, they need to ask permission of the supervisor, employee, and customer, before making the recording.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study, I presented research on the potential use of conversation analysis as a resource for language teaching. Then I presented CA literature on a particular practice of organization in talk, the pre-sequence. This literature review served two purposes. First, it informed teachers and textbook writers about an aspect of talk in interaction. Second, it was used to evaluate textbook dialogues and suggest improvements. After a discussion of the methodology used in this study, I presented the data analysis of invitation, offer, and request dialogues in ESL textbooks, as well as a discussion of the implications of this data analysis for language teaching. Next, I suggested two different types of application to language teaching: adapting and supplementing existing textbook dialogues and training students to collect and analyze natural data. In this chapter, I will discuss implications of this study for conversation analysis and language teaching.

4.1 Implications for Conversation Analytic Research

This study attempts to "apply" conversation analysis to the field of second language teaching. Although textbook dialogues are not natural conversation, the study of these dialogues brought up areas for further research for the field of conversation analysis. In choosing textbook dialogues to analyze, I looked for sequences of the type that were represented in the CA literature. I excluded some cases from the study because they were not represented in the CA literature and the problem that would be solved by doing a pre-sequence did not exist, so a pre-sequence was not necessary. However, this needs to be tested with recorded data of natural conversation. As there are no CA data available on the types of situations I excluded from the study, more data on pre-sequences needs to be collected.

Research is also needed on the kinds of invitations, offers, and requests which are most often preceded by pre-sequences. Are there some types of invitations, offers, and requests that are preceded by pre-sequences more often than others? Are there some types of invitations, offers, and requests where the use of a pre-sequence is optional?

This study also brings up questions about variation in the form of pre-invitations. Are some pre-invitations more suggestive of the upcoming invitation than others? For example, is there a difference between "What are you doing Saturday night?" and "Are you busy Saturday night?" Is the second of these pre-invitations more suggestive than the first of its potential character as a pre-invitation?

4.2 Implications for SLA and Second Language Pedagogy

There are two possible approaches to applying CA research to second language teaching: a direct and indirect approach. With the indirect approach, textbook authors can use CA research to prepare ESL textbooks which display an understanding of interactional features of talk. However, in this approach there is no direct instruction of how conversational sequences, or courses of action, are implemented through talk. One advantage of this approach is that it can be used at all levels of language teaching, even with beginning students who lack the meta-language necessary to discuss conversational sequences. Another advantage is that even teachers who are unaware of CA research findings can provide students with input that is closer to natural language.

The major disadvantage of the indirect approach is that if conversational sequences are not pointed out to students, they may never be learned. Evidence for this comes from studies which show that advanced language learners are often unaware of the structures and functions of conversation. In a conversation analytic study, Golato (2002) provides an example of how differences in compliment responses kept a conversation from going smoothly between an American who is a native speaker of English and three Germans who are advanced speakers of English. Another study examined whether or not advanced ESL students could understand indirect responses, or implicature (Bouton, 1988). When students who received no direct instruction were retested after four and a half years, they showed greater understanding in some areas, but no improvement in other areas. This research shows that direct instruction is needed for advanced learners to understand some aspects of conversational sequences. This is not surprising, as even native speakers are not consciously aware of the structures and functions of conversation (Wolfson, 1989).

Direct instruction in conversational sequences is especially important for advanced language learners. While native speakers may attribute miscommunication with beginning learners to lack of proficiency, in miscommunication with advanced learners "the source of the difficulty is more likely to be attributed to a defect in a person (or a culture) … than to an NNS's inability to map the correct linguistic form onto pragmatic intentions" (Gass & Selinker, 2001, p. 244). So, the direct approach, which involves both the use of natural language in the classroom and explicit teaching about conversational sequences, has advantages for advanced learners.

Other researchers have advocated a direct approach to teaching conversation (Barraja-Rohan, 1997, 1999; Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997; Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, & Thurrell, 1997; Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1994; Gardner, 1994; Geluykens, 1993; Hanamura, 1998; Scott, 1987; Scotton & Bernsten, 1988; Sze, 1995; Wong, 1984, in press). However, only Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard (1997) advocate a direct approach that would involve teaching about conversation at the level of detail of CA transcripts with information about pauses, intonation, and word stress. I propose a direct approach with this level of detail, as well as with a focus on the idea that sequence, as defined by conversation analysts, refers to more than just the structure of conversation, it refers to interactive courses of action.

The lessons presented in Chapter 3 are models for how a focus on the form of conversational sequences could be included in textbooks. This focus on form involves presenting students with short recordings and CA transcripts of natural language, along with questions to prompt their thinking about conversational sequences. Students then discuss the questions as a class. Then, they receive explicit instruction about the forms and functions of conversation and go back to reexamine the natural language. In the future, I hope that more textbooks will offer at least implicit models of language which are interactionally accurate and include explicit instruction about conversational sequences. However, until then, I argue for an intermediate step which I describe in Chapter 3, adapting and supplementing existing textbook dialogues with questions and short lessons on the interactional features of language.

There are still other options for a focus on the form of conversational sequences in the classroom. One option that I discussed in Chapter 3 is to have students collect natural language outside the language classroom. Another option is for teachers to collect natural language inside the classroom by recording student talk, and then choosing some part of the talk to transcribe and examine with students. Together, the teacher and students can examine this talk for features such as pre-sequences, conversation openings, turn-taking, adjacency pairs, repair, preferred and dispreferred responses, as well as pre-closings and closings. I acknowledge that this type of classroom activity may be too time-consuming to be feasible for practicing teachers. One possible solution is for university faculty members and graduate students to conduct this kind of research in action research components of applied linguistics programs (Markee, 1997).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, direct approaches to teaching conversation are similar to direct approaches to teaching grammar where feedback is given to students about the forms and functions of conversation (Richards, 1990). While the strong approach to communicative language teaching does not include a focus on form, more recently there has been support for incorporating the direct teaching of grammar into the communicative approach (Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1994; Doughty & Williams, 1998; Fotos, 1994; Williams, 1995). While these researchers have advocated a focus on form at the level of syntax and morphology, as conversational sequences are similar to grammatical rules in the sense that they are unconscious, I am proposing to extend this focus on form to conversational sequences. Celce-Murcia, Dörneyi, & Thurrell (1997) also advocate this type of approach:

> … the direct approach we have in mind would also include a focus on higher level organizational principles or rules and normative patterns or conventions governing language use beyond the sentence level (e.g., discourse rules, pragmatic awareness, strategic competence) as well as lexical formulaic phrases. (p. 146)

Further support for the direct teaching of conversational sequences comes with Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei & Thurrell's (1995) model of communicative competence. Building on earlier models of communicative competence (Canale & Swain, 1980, Canale, 1983), this model includes discourse competence, which involves teaching conversational structures such as openings and closings, as well as preferred and dispreferred responses. Another part of this model is actional competence, "competence in conveying and

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understanding communicative intent" (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, & Thurrell, 1995, p. 17) through knowledge of language functions.

A direct approach to teaching conversation is also supported by Gass' (1988) model of second language acquisition, which combines environmental and mentalist positions of second language acquisition. Gass' (1997) original definition of grammar has expanded to include phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. In this model, the second language acquisition process begins with apperceived input, or input that the learner focuses on or notices. Attention is an important part of noticing as "it allows a learner to notice a mismatch between what he or she knows about a language and what is produced by speakers of the second language" (Gass & Selinker, 2001, p. 403). Attention, prior knowledge, frequency, and affect are all factors that influence what becomes apperceived input.

However, in Gass' model, noticing is not enough. Only some of the apperceived input is comprehended or understood by the learner. An even smaller amount of this comprehended input becomes intake, or is used to form and test hypotheses about language. With the Gass model, direct instruction in conversational structures and functions may help increase the amount of apperceived input by contributing to prior knowledge. However, only a portion of this apperceived input would become intake.

Schmidt (1990, 1993) argues that "noticing" plays an even stronger role in language learning. I agree with his notion that conscious "noticing" of input can convert input directly into intake. Therefore, explicit teaching about rules in the language classroom can help students "notice" aspects of natural language outside of the classroom and subsequently convert input into intake (Schmidt & Frota, 1986). This is demonstrated in a diary study conducted by Schmidt and Frota (1986) which examined Schmidt's acquisition of Portuguese during a five-month stay in Brazil. During the trip, Schmidt kept a journal about his conversations and tape-recorded a conversation about once a month. The material from the journal, class notes and text were compared with the tape-recorded conversations in order to see if there was any correspondence between what Schmidt noticed and what he said in conversation.

Through this comparison, Schmidt and Frota (1986) found that most of the grammatical constructions "noticed" in conversation were those that were taught in class. The tape-recorded conversations provided evidence that these constructions had been part of the input comprehended by Schmidt from the beginning. However, Schmidt only began to use these forms after he "noticed" them. This demonstrates that pointing out structures in a language classroom can make them more salient to the language learner and more likely to be "noticed" from all of the input in conversation.

Anecdotal evidence from my own learning of Portuguese supports the idea that direct instruction about conversational sequences also may encourage "noticing" and eventually, second language acquisition. After learning about pre-sequences in a course on CA, I overheard a Brazilian friend using a pre-request on the telephone when he was trying to get a ride to the airport. Schmidt's "noticing" hypothesis can explain how my prior knowledge about pre-sequences helped convert input into intake. Similarly, after an introduction to pre-sequences in the classroom, students may not immediately begin producing pre-sequences, but they are more likely to notice the use of pre-sequences outside the classroom.

I have discussed both how and why conversational structures and functions should be taught. An equally important question is whether or not these structures and functions can be learned. Research conducted on the effects of pragmatic instruction in areas such as compliments, pragmatic fluency, apologies, and pragmatic routines and strategies (Billmyer, 1990; House, 1996; Olshtain & Cohen, 1990; Wildner-Bassett, 1994) has shown positive results of the teaching of pragmatics. However, much of this data was collected with discourse-completion questionnaires, role-play, elicited conversation, and multiple-choice questions. While these methods can show student's ideas about language, they do not demonstrate if student's talk would actually change in interaction.

There is a need for CA studies of how understanding of conversational sequences develops, in order to show how miscommunication occurs in talk in interaction. Golato (personal communication, April 3, 2002) is currently conducting this type of CA study about how word search behavior differs among students with varying proficiency levels in German. Research is also needed on the long-term effects of instruction about conversational sequences. Finally, research is needed to explore possible differences between the acquisition of grammar rules and conversational sequences.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into a discussion on the extent to which conversational sequences can be taught (see, however, Kasper, 1997). However, research such as that of Schmidt and Frota (1986) does suggest a link between conscious "noticing" of forms and their acquisition. This is why I advocate a direct approach to the teaching of conversational sequences.

If students are to learn about interaction, pre-sequences are an important part of the picture. As pre-sequences such as pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests project future actions, language learners need to able to recognize these types of pre-sequences in order to be able to respond appropriately. Also, pre-invitations, pre-offers, and pre-requests are a resource language learners can use to avoid receiving dispreferred responses. Teaching students about interaction involves more than just giving them a list of phrases to memorize. Students must also learn the functions of the turns and importance of the sequential position of turns in interaction in displaying that function.

In addition to the need for materials which display an understanding of the interactional features of talk, teachers need to be made aware of the findings of CA research in order to be able to give students an understanding of this interactional nature of conversation. In this way, teachers can train students to use a critical eye when examining existing textbook dialogues. Finally, students can be encouraged to collect samples of natural conversation to become more aware of the language used around them. This will better prepare students to successfully use language in interaction outside the classroom.

Notes

[1] However, although observations can provide a check against intuitive assumptions, there are also problems with observations (as opposed to recordings) of natural conversation as "specific details of naturally situated interactional conduct are irretrievably lost and are replaced by idealizations about how interaction works" (Heritage, 1984, p. 236).

[2] The conversation analytic data segments in this thesis follow the transcription conventions summarized in Appendix A. These transcription conventions are adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984, pp. ix-xvi).

[3] When speech is quoted from natural conversation, the punctuation mark for the sentence will be placed outside of the quotation marks. Any punctuation inside the quotation marks refers to transcription conventions. When speech from textbook dialogues is quoted, the same procedure will be followed. However, the punctuation in the textbook dialogues does not refer to the same transcription conventions used by conversation analysts to transcribe natural conversation because it is not transcribed speech but rather invented speech. Exceptions to this are the dialogues from the textbook *Beyond Talk* (1997). These dialogues follow transcription conventions described in footnote 4.

[4] In contrast to the other textbook dialogues, dialogues from *Beyond talk: A course in communication for intermediate adult learners of English* (1997) are based on natural conversation, not invented speech. The transcription conventions used in these dialogues are slightly different from those described in Appendix A. The differences are listed below (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997, pp. 10-11):

Intonation contours:

- ↓ voice falls (high fall)
- ↑ voice contracts (high rise)
- ↓ low fall
- ↑ low rise
- - sudden cut off
- _ voice is level

Rhythm:
Slower speech is indicated by spacing out letters and faster speech is indicated by contracting letters.

Faster speech: Rob: yeah↓ catch you later↓
Lily: ↑hm↓ okay↓ seeyou↓
Rob: seeyou

Slower speech: Chris: [please please] please (.) please↓

[5] Here is the actual form of the exercise in the book. (*ExpressWays 2W-I*, p. 6)

Put a check next to the correct line.

A: Could I ask you a favor?
B: __ Fine. And you?
__ What is it?
A: Could you lend me your car to pick up my son?
B: __ What is it?
__ All right.
A: Are you sure?
B: __ Yes. I'm not going to lend you my car.
__ Yes. I'd be happy to lend you my car.
A: Thanks. I appreciate it.

[6] Conversation analytic transcription conventions allow for some changes from standard English spelling as part of "an attempt to get as much as possible of the actual sound and sequential position of talk onto the page…" (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 12). In order to highlight differences between spoken and written language, teachers can ask students to rewrite the transcripts using standard English spelling.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPT SYMBOLS

(adapted from Atkinson & Heritage, 1984)

[ ]	Overlapping utterances
=	Latching: when there is no interval between adjacent utterances
(0.2)	Timed silence within or between utterances in tenths of a second
-	An abrupt cutoff of a word or sound
( )	Unclear hearing
(( ))	Comments, details of the scene
:	Extension of the sound
.	Falling intonation, e.g. sentence final.
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation
_	Stressed syllable
WORD	Louder than surrounding talk
°	Quieter than surrounding talk
↑↓	Marked change in pitch: upward or downward
(h)	Aspirations
(.h)	Inhalations
< >	Utterance is delivered at slower pace than surrounding talk
> <	Utterance is delivered at quicker pace than surrounding talk

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